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THE SENATE OF CANADA



PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

Immigration and Labour

On the operation and administration of the
Immigration Act, etc.

No. 1

TUESDAY, 21st MAY, 1946

The Honourable James Murdock, P.C., Chairman

WITNESS:

Mr. A. L. Jolliffe, Director of Immigration, Department of Mines
and Resources.

APPENDIX:

Statement and directive of President Truman, dated 22nd
December, 1945, re displaced persons and refugees.

STANDING COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND LABOUR

The Honourable JAMES MURDOCK, P.C., Chairman

The Honourable Senators

Aseltine	Donnelly	McGeer
Blais	Dupuis	Molloy
Bouchard	Euler	Murdock
Bourque	Ferland	Pirie
Buchanan	Haig	Robertson
Burchill	Hardy	Robinson
Calder	Horner	Roebuck
Campbell	Hushion	Taylor
Crerar	Lesage	Vaillancourt
Daigle	Macdonald (<i>Cardigan</i>)	Veniot
David	McDonald (<i>Shediac</i>)	Wilson

ORDER OF REFERENCE

EXTRACT from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Senate, Wednesday, May 8, 1946.

"That the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour be authorized and directed to examine into the Immigration Act (R.S.C. Chapter 93 and Amendments) its operation and administration and the circumstances and conditions relating thereto including (a) the desirability of admitting immigrants to Canada, (b) the type of immigrant which should be preferred, including origin, training and other characteristics, (c) the availability of such immigrants for admission, (d) the facilities, resources and capacity of Canada to absorb, employ and maintain such immigrants, and (e) the appropriate terms and conditions of such admission;

And that the said Committee report its findings to this house;

And that the said Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records."

L. C. MOYER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, 21st May, 1946.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour met this day at 10.30 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Murdock, Chairman; Blais, Buchanan, Crerar, Ferland, Haig, McGeer, Molloy, Robertson, Roebuck and Veniot—11.

The Committee proceeded to the consideration of the Order of Reference of the 8th May, 1946, directing the Committee to examine in the operation and administration of the Immigration Act, etc.

The official reporters of the Senate were in attendance.

Mr. A. L. Jolliffe, Director of Immigration, Department of Mines and Resources, was heard, and gave a general outline of the operation of the Immigration Department with respect to immigrants entering Canada and the organization of the Department outside of Canada for examination of prospective immigrants into Canada.

At the request of the Honourable Senator Crerar Mr. Jolliffe undertook to file for the information of the Committee a statement showing immigration into the United States since the year 1850.

The Honourable Senator Roebuck filed copy of a statement and directive of President Truman, dated 22nd December, 1945, *re* displaced persons and refugees, which was ordered to be included as an Appendix to the proceedings.

On motion of the Honourable Senator Roebuck it was resolved to report as follows:—

That in connection with the order of reference of the 8th May, 1946, directing the Committee to examine into the operation and administration of the Immigration Act, etc., the Committee recommend that it be authorized to print 1000 copies in English and 200 copies in French of its day to day proceedings, and that Rule 100 be suspended in relation to the said printing.

At 12.35 p.m. the Committee adjourned until Wednesday, 29th May, 1946, at 10.30 a.m.

Attest.

H. ARMSTRONG
Clerk of the Committee.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

THE SENATE,

TUESDAY, May 21, 1946.

The Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour, which was authorized and directed to examine into the Immigration Act, met this day at 10.30 a.m.

Hon. Mr. MURDOCK in the Chair.

Witness: Mr. A. L. Jolliffe, Director of Immigration, Department of Mines and Resources, Ottawa.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, Mr. Jolliffe, Director of Immigration, is here this morning and will speak to us. I presume the committee will indicate from time to time what particular line of information they desire.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Jolliffe, you are the Director of Immigration of the federal Immigration Branch in the Department of Mines and Resources, are you not?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes, sir.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Perhaps we could commence in an orderly way by asking you to give us an outline of the organization of your department as it is engaged in the work of immigration to Canada.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Mr. Chairman, gentlemen, I shall be very glad to furnish any information I possibly can to assist you in your studies of immigration. The Immigration Branch is one of four or five branches of the Department of Mines and Resources, and it operates under a Director, who is responsible to the Deputy Minister and the Minister. The branch for administration purposes is divided into three divisions: Headquarters Division; Field Service, Canada, and Field Service, Overseas. The Headquarters Division deals with all administrative matters. It is composed of various subdivisions, such as central registry for correspondence, manifest division for recording immigration, a statistical division, a juvenile division for dealing with juvenile immigrants, a staff division, and a general division, which deals particularly with the administration of the law in Canada, under a Commissioner.

The second division is the field and inspectional division in Canada, and for purposes of administration it is divided into four districts: The Atlantic District, which takes in the province of Quebec and the Maritime Provinces; The Eastern District, which takes in that part of Ontario from the Quebec border up to but not including Port Arthur; the Western District, from Port Arthur west to and including Kingsgate, British Columbia; and the Pacific District, all territory west of Kingsgate, including the Yukon Territory. Each of these districts is under the direction of a district superintendent and staff at district headquarters. The district headquarters of the Atlantic and Eastern Districts are at Ottawa; of the Western District, at Winnipeg; of the Pacific District, at Vancouver. In the districts are ports of entry, both boundary ports and ocean ports, and some inland agencies. The ports are under the direction of an Inspector in Charge. Some of them have as many as fifty inspectors; and one or two, such as Windsor and Niagara Falls, have more than that. The inland agencies are for the purpose of dealing with investigation work in the interior of Canada. The overseas organization is in Europe, the headquarters in London, under the direction of a Commissioner. Under normal conditions there are agencies in the United Kingdom and inspectional points on the continent. At the present time there are no inspectional points or agencies

overseas, apart from the London Office, and I shall comment on that in a few moments. Under normal conditions there is also one inspectional point in Hong Kong, which deals with a particular phase of our work, relating particularly to Chinese immigration, under a special immigration officer. That office is not open at the present time.

There are 40 inspectional points at seaports in Canada, and there are 203 international boundary ports. The year before last, on the international boundary, officers of the department examined over 21 million persons coming into Canada. That does not mean that 21 million different people were examined; it means that 21 million persons passed inspection. To illustrate what I mean: at Windsor, for instance, there are a lot of people who commute, and they will come over from Detroit and go back once or twice a week, some of them daily. But the actual number of persons that passed inspection on the international boundary in the year ending March 1945 was over 21 million. I mention that to show the amount of inspectional work that is performed by the service.

Thus the ports of entry are primarily engaged in the inspection of immigrants coming to Canada. Each person is required to be examined to ascertain whether admissible under the law. If he is not admissible he is rejected and has the right of appeal to the minister. The rejection with the appeal procedure frequently involves investigation in the interior of Canada. That is one of the reasons why we have offices in the interior, with officers who can conduct a quick investigation and also prevent the unnecessary or lengthy delay of persons at the border who have been refused admission. Our overseas inspection service operates similarly to the inspection service at the international boundary ports. There is an inspector in charge, and the immigrant coming from Europe is required to obtain an immigration visa at the port to establish his admissibility to Canada. In normal times we have inspectional points at Paris, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Hamburg—which includes Bremen—Danzig, Gdynia, and Riga. At these points we also have medical officers who are required to examine all persons coming from the continent to Canada.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Do you have them in Italy and southern countries?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: No, the flow of immigration all comes through those ports.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: The ports which you have mentioned?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: The ports I have mentioned. Under normal conditions we also have a medical staff in the United Kingdom. These officers were stationed at Liverpool, Glasgow and Belfast, so that all British immigrants coming to Canada passed their medical inspection overseas. That system was put into effect about 1921 or 1922, the purpose of it being to prevent the arrival at Canadian ports of immigrants who on crossing the Atlantic were found to be inadmissible to Canada for health or similar reasons, and were required to return with resultant hardship owing to their having purchased transportation, sold their homes and so forth.

In the United Kingdom these points of medical inspection were found not to be sufficient and there were appointed medical men on what we called a Canadian roster. There were about five hundred selected by the Department of Health and given instructions as to the particular requirements of the immigration service in regard to the establishing of good mental and physical health. At the present time we have them operating only in London.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Where were the five hundred medical men situated, Mr. Jolliffe?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: They were located all over the United Kingdom, at points where it was comparatively easy for an immigrant coming to Canada to get a medical examination without having to travel any distance.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: You did not have those men on the continent?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: No, not on the continent. The medical officers do not belong to the Immigration Branch but are assigned to us for their work by the Department of National Health and Welfare.

The CHAIRMAN: Would you tell us how they were assigned before the Department of Health was instituted?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: From the time the system was put into effect, Mr. Chairman, they were Department of Health officers; they were not immigration service men, but were assigned to us by the medical people who would know more about that business than we as immigration people would. At our ocean ports there are medical staffs also furnished by the Department of National Health and Welfare.

This is the way the system operates: If a person is coming from the United States there is no preliminary investigation; he comes to the border and is examined by an immigration officer. He may be coming as a visitor or as an immigrant, but if he satisfies the officer as to his admissibility under either category he is immediately admitted by that officer. If he is an immigrant there is a manifest record taken of him, which is transmitted to the department from the port; so that we now have a record of all immigrants admitted to Canada since the turn of the century, and so far as the ocean ports are concerned, back into the 80's.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: And also a record of those who were rejected?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: And also those who were rejected. It is impossible to take a record of the visitors, because, as I mentioned a few moments ago, no ordinary staff could take a record of 21,000,000 people crossing the border.

If a man is rejected he is given an order of rejection which sets out the reason for his rejection, giving the statutory clause under which he is rejected, and from which he has the right of appeal to the minister. The appeal is sent forward immediately to the district superintendent for transmission to the department. The original examination may require some investigation in other parts of Canada, as for instance, if he is rejected in Winnipeg and an investigation is required in Edmonton and Calgary, a copy of the report is promptly sent by air mail or wire to an officer in Calgary or Edmonton, who conducts an investigation and submits his report in the same manner to the district superintendent who forwards the complete record to the department. It is there examined and finally submitted to the minister by memorandum, setting out all the facts and the law for the minister to decide whether the appeal is to be dismissed and the person kept out of Canada or whether the person is to be allowed in. That procedure is necessary as indicated, for instance, by the case of a child who arrives at an international boundary port unaccompanied and is going to some aunt or other person in the interior of Canada. The child has nothing with it except a ticket and a few dollars. The officer has no means of telling, in a case of that kind, whether that child is going to some satisfactory settlement, so it has to be detained for an investigation to be conducted. That explains one of the reasons for a staff in the interior of Canada.

At ocean ports the same procedure is followed. A person is examined and if admissible is admitted; if not admissible is detained for a complete investigation or a decision on his appeal. Overseas that procedure does not operate. A person in the United Kingdom will come in and is given a medical examination at once. They are close to their homes so that if there is any question the case is transmitted to Canada for investigation if necessary, and the person finally advised of its outcome. The actual rejection can only take place at the port of entry. On the continent if a person is not admissible the immigration visa is not granted, and they have to appeal in the same way to the minister. That briefly is the inspectional procedure followed by the service.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: Are these doctors you spoke of, in Great Britain and the United States in normal times, Canadians?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes, they are.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: But the five hundred you speak of in Great Britain would not be Canadians?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: No, they are British medical doctors taken from the British medical rolls, and approved by our Health Department. We have a chief medical officer in London who supervises the health examinations and who sees that those roster doctors, as we call them, perform their duties as they should.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: You have no such doctors in the European countries?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: No, sir.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Is the system this, that a proposed immigrant comes from the continent to England and is there examined before crossing the ocean?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: No, sir, we have medical officers in the ports that I have mentioned: Paris, Antwerp, Hamburg and so forth. These staffs are made up of our own immigration and medical officers. So that before an alien immigrant coming from the continent of Europe is sold a transportation ticket the authorities reasonably satisfy themselves that the immigrant can pass* medical inspection before he gets to the port of embarkation. If he is coming through France he goes to Paris because all the railways go through that city; if he comes from the northern European countries the port will be Antwerp, Rotterdam, Gdynia, Riga or Bremen, where we have medical officers; so that all overseas immigration from Europe is screened through the medical staff and all receive examinations.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: What about people who come from the Mediterranean area?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: They too come up through Paris.

The further work of the inspectional service in Canada is the administration of law in regard to deportation. I will endeavour to explain that to you when I discuss the law; but if a person is subject to deportation from Canada the procedure and functions can be carried on all over the country. If a man in Manitoba is subject to deportation as soon as possible he is brought before a board of inquiry at Winnipeg. If he is in a mental or penal institution a properly authorized officer travels to that institution. So that the whole country is covered by boards of inquiry and officers having authority to act as a board. The procedure followed when there is a board of inquiry is exactly the same as that with regard to an application for admission. The person is examined and a decision is given on the evidence. If deportation is ordered, the person has a right of appeal to the Minister and the appeal goes through the same channel as I described with regard to a person who is applying for entry to Canada. These interior officers are also required to conduct investigations into settlement conditions of persons applying for the admission of aliens or British subjects to Canada. As an example, let us say a man in Brantford, Ontario, applies for the admission of his wife and daughter from Czechoslovakia. The investigating officer at Hamilton deals with that case. He investigates the settlement conditions: first as to the status of the applicant in Canada; and secondly, as to his employment, whether he has sufficient funds to receive and care for a wife and children, and whether he has a home to bring them to. If the conditions are satisfactory the application is approved. The prospective immigrants are required to pass their medical and civil examination overseas, as I described a few moments ago. That is one class of investigation that is taken care of by these interior officers. There are investigations with regard to applications for admission of contract labour. All that work is done by these officers, who report to the district superintendent, who, if he cannot deal with the thing himself, refers it to headquarters for final decision. I think, Mr. Chairman, that about roughly describes the functions of the service.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: How many people are employed in the service in general?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: The total full-time staff is 756, divided as follows: In Ottawa, 116; the inspectional staff in Canada, including the ports and the interior offices, district headquarters and so on, 593; the overseas staff, 47. That is as at April 1, 1946. Since the first of April our staff along the international boundary has been increased by about 50. The summer business is very much larger than the winter business, and we put on additional officers for the summer months.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: The overseas staff is 47?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: That was on April 1. That is not the normal overseas staff, but is the present staff in London.

In addition, there are 251 part-time officers in Canada. They are customs officers who perform immigration work at points where there is not sufficient business to warrant the service of two officers, one for customs, and one for immigration. There is co-ordination between the services, and the customs do our work and we do the customs work. If you add 251 to 756, that makes 1,007, which is the full service operating the immigration business and administering the immigration laws.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That staff is capable of handling a very much larger immigration than we have been receiving in the last few years, is it not?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes. That staff I mentioned was as at April 1, 1946. There was not that number operating eighteen months ago; it was very much smaller. But for the year ended March 1945 the number of persons crossing the international boundary increased about 30 per cent. That increase took place within a period of four months. In other words, with the end of the war people were travelling more. I mentioned that the year before last more than 21 million people passed inspection by our officers on the international boundary. This year we anticipate the figure will be considerably larger than that. In some of the years gone by more than 30 million persons have crossed the international boundary during the fiscal year.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: If we increased our immigration from points in Europe, including England, would that require any considerable increase in your departmental staff?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: It would require an increase in our overseas organization, because it would probably mean the reopening of our offices at the points that I mentioned—Liverpool, Glasgow, Belfast, and possibly others.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Have any steps been taken to open those offices since the close of the war?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: The matter is under consideration.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: No steps have been taken?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: No actual steps have been taken to reopen. The fact is that there is no possibility of any immigrant movement from overseas for some little time. Perhaps I could indicate what the situation is by saying that in the United Kingdom at the present time there are a considerable number of Canadians who have been waiting for at least twelve months for passage to Canada. That situation is brought about by these conditions: first, the return of our service personnel; and secondly, the bringing to Canada of the dependents of our service personnel. There were approximately a total of 60,000 service personnel dependents in the United Kingdom and on the continent. Part of those are now in Canada, and the rest are to come. So the shipping that is available is short of normal, owing to the war. Practically 90 per cent of what is available is for service personnel and their dependents, leaving very little space for others.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Do you know how many of those 60,000 service personnel dependents still remain in the United Kingdom?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I may say that the transfer of dependents from overseas to Canada is not the responsibility of the immigration service. We examine them as their admissibility to Canada, see that they get their medical inspection, and upon establishing their admissibility we report the case to the Department of National Defence, Army, who handle their transportation and bring them to Canada. Approximately one-half of them have now come to Canada. In other words, there are about one-half of them still left overseas.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Is there any estimate of how long it will take to bring these people back?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I cannot answer that, sir; I really do not know.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I see in this morning's paper an Associated Press dispatch from New York, under date of May 20, as follows:

Nearly 1,000 refugees from Nazi concentration camps—most of them Jewish victims of Hitler's hate and persecution in Germany and Poland—reached the United States to-day aboard the army transport *Marine Flasher*.

It was the first group brought to the United States under the annual quota of 39,000 fixed by President Truman last December.

Dock guards controlled with difficulty a shouting crowd of more than 1,000 friends and relatives as the ship began to unload after a nine-day voyage from Bremerhaven.

Jewish refugees from Russia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the Baltics were listed among the passengers, besides those from Germany and Poland.

Now, how is it that we do not seem to be able to get passage for people of this sort? So far as I know we have made no attempt at all towards their relief, while a thousand of them arrive in the United States.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: The only comment I can make on that, sir, is that I notice they are being brought by army transport.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Is that the explanation?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I assume so; I do not know.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: They have been brought to the United States by Government service?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Presumably, yes. According to that dispatch, they have been brought by an army transport.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I suppose we have army transports too. Anyway, you are not able to answer that?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: No, I am not able to answer that.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Have you seen President Truman's statement with regard to the bringing in of displaced persons and refugees? It was made at Washington on December 22, 1945.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes, I have seen a summary of it.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: In it he states that it is the duty of the United States to do something to relieve the conditions in Europe?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: And take some steps towards that end. That was back in December last. He also issued a directive at that time. Mr. Chairman, perhaps it would be of some value if I put this document on the record, President Truman's statement and directive. It is too long to be read now.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: That touches a question of Government policy. It may be quite appropriate to put this document on the record, but after all the important question is what the Government's policy is going to be. The immigration service, of which Mr. Jolliffe is the head, has to administer the policy that is laid down by the Government. I do not think, Senator Roebuck, that you would ask Mr. Jolliffe's opinion as to the wisdom of a matter of policy.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: No, I would not do that, but I would like to ask Mr. Jolliffe if anything of the same kind is taking place in Canada. For instance, in the directive, which is a memorandum to the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, the Attorney General, the War Shipping Administrator, the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, and the Director General of UNRRA, the President says:—

The Secretary of State is directed to establish with the utmost dispatch consular facilities at or near displaced person and refugee assembly centre areas in the American zones of occupation. It shall be the responsibility of these consular officers, in conjunction with the immigrant inspectors, to determine as quickly as possible the eligibility of the applicants for visas and admission to the United States.

For this purpose the Secretary will, if necessary, divert the personnel and funds of his department from other functions in order to insure the most expeditious handling of this operation. In co-operation with the Attorney General he shall appoint as temporary vice-consuls, authorized to issue visas, such officers of the Immigration and Naturalization Service as can be made available for this program.

That perhaps explains the arrival of the 1,000 refugees at New York on May 20?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I think it does in so far as their admissibility is concerned. The directive refers to the admission of these people under the existing laws of the United States. I take that to mean that these refugees will be brought into the United States under their quota.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That would apply to the 39,000.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: For a certain quota, yes; but the United States immigration quota is very much larger than that.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: The question that comes to my mind is that the wives and children of our soldiers are still overseas, and with our transportation facilities it will take as long to get them here as it has taken to transport our service men since the war ended.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I could not give an authoritative answer on that question, but I could express an opinion. The movement of dependents since the war ended has been very small; that is, for some months after the war ended it was small. It is now being speeded up, so that I think it is safe to say that the transportation of the balance of the dependents will not take as long from now on as it has required from when the war ended up to the present time.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: The soldiers are now home and that should relieve the shipping problem.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: That is correct.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: Would you hazard a guess as to how long in your opinion it would take to get the balance of the dependents home?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Perhaps I would be sticking my neck out, but I should think they would be back by the end of this year.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Did you say, Mr. Jolliffe, that the soldiers are all back?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: No, I am talking about the dependents.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That comment was made, and I thought you agreed with it.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I do not know that, but I think most of them are back.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: They are not all back.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: No, they are not all back because some are still in the occupation forces. Of course that question is outside my province.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: In speaking of the quota, this is what the President of the United States says:—

Most of these persons are natives of central and eastern Europe and the Balkans. The immigration quotas for all these countries for one year total approximately 39,000, two-thirds of which are allotted to Germany.

We have no quota?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: No.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: We have never adopted the quota system.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: No.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: In so far as you know no statement of this kind has been made by any authority with regard to immigration in Canada?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: No.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: As far as you know nothing has been done?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I did not say nothing had been done.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I mean by way of the acknowledgment of a policy.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: The refugee question, as you know, is one of the questions under consideration by the United Nations. As a matter of fact there is a committee now sitting, I believe, in London which was appointed by the Economic and Security Council of U.N.O. to report on this matter of refugees.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Have we a representative on it?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I believe we have, but that is not a matter dealt with by the immigration service. That general matter is dealt with by the Department of External Affairs.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Do you know if their report is expected in the near future?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I cannot answer that.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: What effect will their report have on us?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I do not know.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: You just know that the whole problem of refugees is being considered?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I do know that, yes.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: The admission of immigrants to Canada, Mr. Jolliffe, outside of Britain is still by orders in council, is it not?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: No, sir. The classes of immigrants that are admissible to Canada are, first, British subjects, which are specifically defined in the regulations as having the qualifications of good mental and physical health, good character and sufficient funds to maintain themselves until they become established in Canada; the second class is agriculturists coming to Canada with sufficient funds to carry on farming operations; third, the wife and children under eighteen years of age of any legal resident in Canada who is in a position to receive and care for his dependents; fourth, the fiancee of any legal resident in Canada who is in a position to receive and maintain a wife; fifth, a person who is in Canada under a temporary status who joined one of the Allied forces, and who has obtained an honourable discharge. Those briefly are the admissible classes. The persons admitted by order in council are those having some special reason for such

acceptance; for instance, there are a number of Canadian women who have married inadmissible aliens in Canada during the war. As an example, Norwegian airmen, Polish service men or Netherlands service men who have married Canadian girls would ordinarily make application for a permanent admission into Canada, and if they were refused admission would go back to the Netherlands, or wherever their homes might be, and the wives would naturally go with them. The policy has been to admit such people who possess the requirements of good health, good character and who are able to support their dependents.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That applies to married people, but not to a fiancee?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: It does not apply to the male fiancee.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: May I be clear on this point. I am told there are a number of Polish soldiers in Britain who have married British girls, and the many who have married Scottish girls. Would they be admissible to Canada?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: No, sir.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: If such a person applied for admission to Canada he would have to be admitted by order in council?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes, that is if he could comply with all the requirements of admission; for instance, if he were an agriculturist, or if he had married a Canadian girl—and some of them did marry our CWAC's overseas—the girl could come back to Canada and her husband would be admitted by order in council. It really means that the order in council waives the prohibition against that man.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I think, Mr. Jolliffe, you are referring to the order in council which I find in the Immigration Act and regulations at page 50, P.C. 695, which says as follows:

From and after the 18th March, 1931, and until otherwise ordered the landing in Canada of immigrants of all classes and occupations, is hereby prohibited, except as hereinafter provided:

Apparently there was a change in policy in 1931. This order in council gives the list which you enumerated.

1. A British subject entering Canada directly or indirectly from Great Britain.
2. A United States citizen entering Canada from the United States who has sufficient means to maintain himself until employment is secured.
3. The wife or unmarried child under 18 years of age of any person legally admitted to and resident in Canada who is in a position to receive and care for his dependents.
4. An agriculturist having sufficient means to farm in Canada.
5. The fiancee of any adult male legally admitted to and resident in Canada.
6. A person who, having entered Canada as a non-immigrant, enlisted in the Canadian Forces.

I have not read the list completely, but that is the information you gave from memory?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: The immigration picture in Canada at the present time indicates the prohibition of all except those few restricted classes, and in addition such individuals who in the discretion of the minister are admitted by order in council? Is that correct?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: It is correct, sir.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Do you know why that change in policy was made?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes, I can explain it. From approximately 1923 or 1924 up to 1931 the admissible classes were larger than those we are now discussing; in addition to those which you have just enumerated farm labourers were admis-

sible, also female domestic servants, and for a few years the unmarried sons and daughters over 18 years of age, the unmarried brothers and sisters, and the fathers and the mothers of legal residents in Canada. Those classes which I have mentioned were removed from the admissible classes in about 1931 due to the depression. I think that is the answer to your question.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: The depression is the answer?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Were the fathers and mothers removed from the admissible class?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That would seem to be rather drastic, but I presume you do not wish to comment on it.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: That is reflected, sir, if you refer to the immigration figures that you have in a statement which I prepared. The total figures are given in yearly periods from 1930-31.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Will you please put the high spots on the record.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: In 1930-31 the immigration to Canada was 88,223; in 1931-32, when the change was effected, the immigration dropped to 25,752.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Is that the result of the change?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That is the change in regulations?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes, largely, but also due to the fact that the depression was sweeping the world, and I presume there were people who would otherwise have come to Canada who did not have the money to do so. In 1932-33 it was 19,782, and it dropped in the next three years to 11,103 in 1935-36.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Then it started to increase gradually and went to 12,000 in 1936-37.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: And in 1937-38 it was 15,000, 1938-39 17,00, 1939-40 16,000.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: That is correct; then it immediately dropped as a result of the war to 7,000 and 8,000.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: 1940-41 it was 11,496; 1941-42, 8,865; 1942-43, 7,445, which seems to be the lowest point reached.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: That is correct.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: In 1943-44 it was 9,000 and in 1944-45 it had reached 15,000. I am of course just giving the round figures.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I may say that that figure of 7,445 for 1942-1943 is the lowest recorded in Canada.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Since when?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Ever since we have our records.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: What is the explanation of the British figures in 1944-45?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: The dependents are in that.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: That includes the dependents of soldiers?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes. And the number will be very much larger in 1945-46, because they are coming back faster now.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: You were going on to talk about the act, but just before you do that I think it will be in order if I ask you what has been done in other places. Something has been said about the assistance that the United

States has afforded to the refugee and displaced person in Europe. Have you seen a statement which was issued by the United Kingdom Information Office in Canada on January 18, 1946.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes, sir.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: This is too long to read in full, but I will read part of it:—

Britain is a very crowded country with a population of 500 per square mile, compared with 44 per square mile in the United States. Yet during the war, Britain has shown her desire to help, whatever the cost. No refugee who reached Britain even without a visa, was turned back. And in addition to the stream of refugees who came in the usual way, there were many others who entered under various British schemes organized to meet special circumstances. For example, after D-Day, plans were made to accommodate 10,000 French refugees from embattled Normandy. In March, 1945, 2,000 Dutch children were brought over for three-month holidays in camps and private homes all over the country, to allow them to recover from the horrors of that Nazi occupation. Later, when the concentration camps were liberated, plans were immediately made to bring to Britain large numbers of the derelict and pitiable children who were found there. The programme has begun with 1,000 children from the dreaded Theresienstadt camp in Czechoslovakia. The first 300 of these children were flown over in bombers by the R.A.F. and placed in a private holiday camp in the English Lake District.

These are the latest illustrations of sympathy and help which have been characteristic of Great Britain ever since the Nazis came to power. Estimates published in 1943 showed that the assistance in money or kind, given by the private organizations and the individuals in Britain to refugees from German Europe amounted to £9,500,000 (\$38,000,000). In addition, the Government helped, not only by giving every facility to the voluntary bodies, but also by providing funds in aid. In 1938, the Government set aside £4,000,000 (\$20,000,000) to help Czech refugees. Following the outbreak of war, the Government decided to subsidize private organizations caring for refugees. At first 50 per cent of the cost was given, and this was later raised to 100 per cent. Over £1,200,000 (\$4,800,000) had been spent by the Government in this manner by May, 1943, not including the Ministry of Health expenditure on refugees.

Another paragraph says:

There are thousands of close relatives of Nazi victims in Britain to receive them. They found refuge there both before and during the war. Up to April 1943 alone, 150,000 refugees entered Britain, and in June 1944 it was officially stated that they were still being admitted at the rate of about 800 a month. Many of these refugees will themselves be able to save others now, and reunite their families.

Can you add anything to that information as to what they are doing in England to assist?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I have not seen that statement, sir.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: What statement is that?

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: It is a statement issued by the United Kingdom Information Office, Ottawa, on the 18th of January, 1946. It looks as though something was being done in England to help remedy this difficult situation in Europe. Now, we have done something, Mr. Jolliffe, have we not?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes. I was going to comment on that, sir.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I wish you would tell us what we have done.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: As regards the United Kingdom, the information that I have seen is the reference in the British House of Commons to the admission to the United Kingdom of some dependent refugees. I believe the statement was made by the Home Secretary on November 13 last. It was stated that provision would be made for the wife and minor children of men in the United Kingdom, the mother and grandmother, if widowed and in need of filial care, and some foreign relatives. Those coming to relatives who had permanent residence in the United Kingdom would be admitted permanently, and others would be admitted temporarily, with the knowledge that they would later proceed to some other destination. That is the only recent statement I have seen, and it is not very recent, for it was made last November.

As to Canada, a number of refugees were admitted here prior to the war, in what are termed the Munich days. They were fleeing from the Nazi terror. And during the war there were several groups of refugees admitted for the duration of the war. There was a group of Netherland citizens, a group of Belgian citizens and some Czech citizens. There was a large body of Polish refugees; most of them were technicians, some of them professional men. A number were admitted from the Far East, when Japan was getting ugly.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: How many?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Something in the vicinity of 200 in that party. The Polish group would run to 700 or 800. I am just giving round figures. Two parties of refugees were brought from the Iberian Peninsula, and from Tangiers there were people who had been caught along the boundaries and who were brought here via Lisbon.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: How many were in that group from Lisbon?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: There were about two hundred families, between four and five hundred souls.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: What is the total of all those you have mentioned?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: In addition to that, sir, there were a considerable number of individuals who did not come in parties. These people came in under non-immigrant status for the duration of the war. There is no statistical category of refugees. I should add that there was another party of refugees who were taken into camps in the United Kingdom when the threat of invasion was very real. In certain territories, I believe, for defence or self-preservation purposes, aliens were taken into camps in the United Kingdom, and some of them were sent to Canada for safe custody. Of those approximately 950 were eventually released in Canada, after investigation. In other words, they were of the refugee class, not the enemy alien class, if I may differentiate in that way. They were released in Canada under temporary status for the duration of the war, subject to the usual security measures.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jolliffe, is it not a fact that approximately one-third to one-half of the immigration to Canada since 1931-32 has been from the United States? The figures here would indicate that in 1931-32, for instance, about one-half of the total immigration was from the United States, and in 1936-37 about one-third came from the United States?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Right.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Mr. Jolliffe, coming back to those classes we were admitting in the years you mentioned, have they all been given a status here now?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: That is what I was coming to, sir. In October last provision was made for the permanent admission of those in the refugee class who came to Canada subsequent to the outbreak of the war and who had become reasonably established and were of good character.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: Are all of them still in the country?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: No, sir, I think not. It is not possible to say exactly how many are still in the country, but we do know that some of them have left and proceeded elsewhere, some to the United States and some to South America. Quite a few of them have left the country.

Hon. Mr. VENOIT: Mr. Jolliffe, do you know approximately how many refugee doctors of medicine have been admitted to Canada?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: No, sir, I do not know that, but from our statistics we can tell how many doctors of medicine there are in the group that have now been landed in Canada.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Can you give us any idea of how many foreign immigrants, people other than British subjects, have come to us during this war and the year following via ocean ports?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I could not give that detail, but I can guess it for you, sir. I would say very very few, because there were not the transportation facilities for getting them to our ports.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: At times during the war we were shipping large quantities of materials across the ocean, and very little was coming this way.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: But, generally speaking, the vessels in that service are freighters, without passenger accommodation.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: The passenger accomodation has all been used for transporting soldiers?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I could get the information you desire, but I have not got it here.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: It could be figured out from here, if you cut out United States and Great Britain. Take for instance the year 1944-45, when there was 15,300 immigrants altogether; approximately 14,200 came from Great Britain and the United States, leaving a balance of about 1,000.

The CHAIRMAN: They are the only two countries which go over the thousand mark.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: I think in 1944-45 if you took out the British and the American immigrants you would have only about 200 people.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That is about all.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: That is true but they did not necessarily arrive at our ocean ports. Some were in Canada and not under immigrant status.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: They might have come here previously.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: That same situation is true of other years.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Our immigration from Europe has been practically nil since the commencement of the war.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes, that is true.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That situation is true since the war as well?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: And it will continue, I suppose, until the shipping situation changes?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes, sir, that is so.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: In the prewar days there were quite a few refugees or people under the general classification of refugees admitted to Canada, but there were certain conditions attached, as I recall it, that they must have some capital and be able to maintain themselves. As a result of that movement there was quite a considerable amount of capital brought by these refugees to Canada, and many of them established industries in this country. I think it might be of interest to the committee, Mr. Jolliffe, if you could give any information along that line.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: It was I think about the Munich days that there was a very considerable movement of aliens out of Germany and German-controlled territory. A number of these unfortunate people succeeded in getting some of their capital out of these countries and applied for admission to Canada. They were admitted by order in council following the usual check-up for security measures and so forth, and they are now scattered all over the country. I do not know that I can remember any individual cases, but I do recall one man that went out to the Pacific coast and is now engaged in a lumber business and employs, I would say, anywhere from 300 to 500 people. I knew of another man in the glove manufacturing business here in Ontario.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: There is the boot and shoe factory near Trenton.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes, the Bata people.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: And there are some Czechoslovakians who are high-class mechanics.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: That is true; down in the Toronto and Hamilton areas there are several engineering firms started by these refugees.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: In London there is a paint company.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: In Saskatoon there is a large pork packing factory.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: Many Czechoslovakian farmers came into the district east of Winnipeg in the years 1937 to 1939, and they told me personally that they knew the war was coming and so they got a little money together and got out.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: There are Sudeten Germans in the Weyburn area of Saskatchewan, in British Columbia and in the Tupper Creek area in the Peace River district.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That leads us to this question, Mr. Jolliffe, have we the immigration prospects if we do open our doors? Have you any indication of the people desiring to come to Canada?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes, the department is literally flooded with applications for the admission of immigrants from overseas. This situation is partly explained by the fact that prior to 1930 there was a considerable immigration movement from the continent and a number of these were married men who left their families in Europe. The depression came along and they did not have the money to send for their families. The depression was followed by the war and they could not send for their families. A considerable number of these European people now wish to bring their wives and families over here. Another reason is the backlog which has naturally accumulated over those years during which no one could come. Since V-E Day applications for the admission of people to Canada have been coming into the department steadily. That condition applies not only to the continent of Europe but also to the United Kingdom.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I have here a Canadian Press article published recently in the newspaper, which reads in part as follows:—

The External Affairs Department and the Director of Immigration are being deluged with thousands of applications for admission of refugees into Canada.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: That is correct. There is a very large number.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: What you have told us, Mr. Jolliffe, is with regard to applications from within Canada to bring people from Europe and other places. Do you know if there are applications which originate outside our country?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That is of people who desire to come here?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: There are inquiries; some come to us directly, and more come through our commissioner in London. There are inquiries from continental Europe of individuals who desire to come to Canada.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: In large numbers?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I would say a considerable number.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Would you care to express an opinion as to whether if we changed our policy and shipping facilities were provided, in a short time there would be a considerable flow of immigrants into Canada?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: That is if our regulations were changed?

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Yes.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes, I would think so.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: We would not have any trouble getting immigrants if we wanted them?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Perhaps I should qualify that statement by saying that it would depend largely on the monetary controls of the countries from which they came; for instance, they might not be allowed to bring out currency, and it might depend on the comparative value of their currency with Canadian currency. In other words, they might not have the funds.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: And I suppose as to whether the foreign countries would permit them to leave?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: That is true.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: The indications are that we would not have very much trouble in finding immigrants, or in selecting immigrants, if we desired to admit them.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I think we would not have any trouble in finding them if they could meet those requirements.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: If the general immigration policy were revised do you anticipate any difficulty in setting up an organization in Europe to adequately examine these people from the point of view of health?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: No sir, I do not anticipate any particular trouble. One thing that would have to be determined is the steamship schedules that would be plotted; that is, whether the steamship lines would operate from the same ports as they did before the war. We do not know that nor do we know the amount of steamship space which could be made available. During the war a great number of these ships were sunk, and with the present backlog of shipping from the United Kingdom, there is a shortage of passenger space. If we had the same passenger tonnage that we had before the war, the present backlog, at least, would not be as bad as it is to-day. The vessels that were operating had to go into drydock and be converted from troop carriers to regular passenger ships. How long that will take, I do not know.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: That will probably require some little time?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Some little time.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: If an active immigration policy were again adopted in Canada, do you anticipate any difficulty in getting the proper organization to handle the work so far as your inspectional staffs are concerned?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: You mean our overseas inspectional staffs?

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Yes.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: No, sir, we could do that all right.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Assuming such policy were adopted, and an immigrant made application to come to Canada, you could readily check his physical and mental conditions; but, have you any means, or could means be found, to check his background, particularly from the point of view of character, that is to find out whether he had ever been in jail?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: That would naturally tend to slow up the handling of individual cases; under present conditions security measures might have to be taken. But certainly the necessary machinery could be provided.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: You could also get the information as to what his capabilities were, as to whether he was an agriculturist or an artisan, and if an artisan, what particular type, whether a stonemason, a carpenter or an engineer?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes; those details would take a little time to work out, but they could be arranged.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Now as to these applications you have said you are receiving, from what type of people do they come? Are they from Swedes, Norwegians, British, French or what people?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: A very large number are British applications; many of them are filed by residents of Canada who wish to bring their relatives from the British Isles.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Excluding that class what is the situation?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: The number from the Scandinavian countries is not large; the greater number tend to come from Holland, Czechoslovakia, Central Europe and quite a few from eastern Europe, Greece and Hungary. I am referring to applications made in Canada for the entry of people from those countries.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Applications made by their relatives in this country?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: It is a relative proposition, yes.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Do those countries place any restriction on the movement of their people out of the country?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I really do not know, sir. There is no way that we have of finding that out, because we have no contacts with the people over there. Their railway systems are in chaotic condition, the people cannot get to the ports, there is no transportation from the ports to Canada. So the only answer we can make, irrespective of the question of admissibility or non-admissibility, is that there are no means of them coming to Canada now.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: I would suggest to this committee that the important question is what the general policy of Canada with regard to immigration is to be. I would not ask Mr. Jolliffe to express an opinion on that, because I will say at once that I do not think he should. He is an administrative officer. But I think that if our inquiry is to get anywhere it must touch that larger question.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: And produce the facts.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: I mean the question whether or not it is desirable to resume immigration on something approaching the pre-war basis.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: The pre-depression basis.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: The pre-depression basis. There are some very interesting statistics in this report of the Department of Mines and Resources. For instance, up to 1914 there was very active immigration. Then the war intervened and the number of immigrants dropped. The figures for some years after the war are as follows:—

1920-21	138,728	1926-27	143,989
1921-22	82,324	1927-28	151,600
1922-23	67,446	1928-29	167,723
1923-24	145,250	1929-30	163,288
1924-25	111,362	1930-31	88,223
1925-26	96,064		

In 1931-32, when the restrictions were put on, the immigration dropped to 25,752, and it has never since reached even that level. The main question, really, is what our general policy in regard to immigration is going to be. As I have said, that is not part of Mr. Jolliffe's responsibility. He may advise the government

on the machinery that is necessary, and that sort of thing, but whether or not we are going to attempt to get immigration on something like the old scale is a matter for the Government and parliament to deal with.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: You might wish, sir, to have the information with regard to the admission of people to the United States over the past few years, under the quota system in that country.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: Do you mean people leaving Canada and going to the United States?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: No, sir, but the number of immigrants admitted to the United States. It does show also the number of immigrants to the United States from Canada.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: I think that would be helpful.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: I think so too. Have you any figures showing whether Canadians who pass from Canada into the United States become permanent residents over there?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: No.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: These figures you speak of now are what?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: The American figures of the admission of immigrants from Canada.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: Do you ever receive communications from industries in Canada asking for the entrance of people from continental Europe? I am thinking of the sugar beet industry in particular.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Occasionally we do.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: In southern Alberta the sugar beet industry has been relying on Japanese labour and prisoner-of-war labour during the war years. When these classes are no longer available there will be a shortage of labour, for it will no longer be possible to get the labour that was used prior to the war. A good many Hungarians and so on were employed then, but they have bought farms and are operating their own sugar beet farms now. I should say that the sugar beet industry in southern Alberta would be badly crippled after the prisoner-of-war labour and the Japanese are no longer available. Have you had communications asking whether it was possible to bring in people from Europe?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: There have been inquiries, particularly from the sugar beet people down in Chatham, and some general inquiries, I think, from the Manitoba people as to the possibility of admitting immigrants from Europe.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I personally think the Immigration Act itself is not at all attractive reading. It is more an act to keep people out than to bring them in, and the same thing can be said of those orders in council. Perhaps there is something with regard to the act that Mr. Jolliffe would like to bring to the attention of the committee before we adjourn?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I do not know that there is, sir. In commenting on the act when I first spoke, my idea was that I should explain its functions. The act itself does not describe the classes that are admissible to Canada. What it does is this. In addition to providing machinery for the removal of people from Canada under proceedings, it defines people who are admissible to Canada as a matter of right, it defines how they can acquire that right and it defines certain statutorily prohibited classes. There is provision in sections 37 and 38 whereby the Governor in Council may restrict the admission of classes. Section 38 says:—

The Governor in Council may, by proclamation or order whenever he deems it necessary or expedient,

- (a) prohibit the landing in Canada or at any specified port of entry in Canada of any immigrant who has come to Canada otherwise than

by continuous journey from the country of which he is a native or naturalized citizen, and upon a through ticket purchased in that country, or prepaid in Canada;

- (b) prohibit the landing in Canada of passengers brought to Canada by any transportation company which refuses or neglects to comply with the provisions of this Act.

This is the important paragraph:—

- (c) prohibit or limit in number for a stated period or permanently the landing in Canada, or the landing at any specified port or ports of entry in Canada, of immigrants belonging to any nationality or race or of immigrants of any specified class or occupation, by reason of any economic, industrial or other condition temporarily existing in Canada or because such immigrants are deemed unsuitable having regard to the climatic, industrial, social, educational, labour or other conditions or requirements of Canada or because such immigrants are deemed undesirable owing to their peculiar customs, habits, modes of life and methods of holding property, and because of their probable inability to become readily assimilated or to assume the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship within a reasonable time after their entry.

It is the machinery provided there which gives flexibility to the administration of the law.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: It is from that section that the orders in council stem?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes sir. The prohibited classes of immigrants are set forth in section 3.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I just wanted to be sure whether you had anything that you could submit to the committee as a desirable suggestion in connection with the act.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Of course, the act may need amendment at this session of parliament. If the bill relating to Canadian citizenship becomes law, this act will have to be amended to fit in with that legislation.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: It may be desirable to have a general revision of the act?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes, the act could be gone over.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: It could be made more readable, could it not?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I suppose it could be brought up to date from a drafting point of view, if nothing else.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: It is a pretty badly drawn act. For the purpose intended to be served its arrangement is poor. Could you give us any estimate of the number of applications for admission that have been received within any recent period, say within the last six months?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I am afraid I cannot, sir. I can say that in the Branch we are receiving approximately a thousand letters a day. I do not suggest that all those are applications; they are not.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: They are always with regard to applications?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Perhaps that would be going to far if I were to say that. Really we cannot keep any statistical record of applications coming in, because they come into not only head office but the offices of the district superintendents in those districts that I mentioned earlier. The district superintendent would as a matter of course advise the applicant of conditions and state whether the proposed immigrant appeared to be admissible under the regulations. We

would have no record of such applications at Ottawa. To keep a record of them here would simply flood us with material which would be of little value at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN: Are there any further questions?—If not, I will say to Mr. Jolliffe that we are all very grateful to him for coming here and giving us this information. I am sure we all know considerably more about the immigration question than we did when this meeting started. What is the proposal for future meetings?

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: Mr. Chairman, before you go into that, may I ask a further question of Mr. Jolliffe? You said a few moments ago, Mr. Jolliffe, that you had the figures of United States immigration under their quota system, and that these figures would also show the number of Canadians admitted. That information could be supplied to us at a later meeting?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes, I can furnish a statement on that.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: I think it would be interesting to learn how many people are being allowed into the United States from all countries, and that it would be particularly interesting to know how many Canadians have been emigrating to the United States.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I can give that information to you in a few seconds, if you would like to have it now.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: I did not know you had information here. I think it would be worth having on record.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: The quota law of the United States says this: "The annual quota of any nationality is 2 per cent of the number of foreign born individuals of such nationality resident in the continental United States as determined by the United States census of 1890, the minimum quota of any nationality being 100". That is to say, it is 2 per cent of the foreign born residents of the United States according to the 1890 census. The annual quota of immigrants admissible today to the United States is 153,774.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: When did that quota law come into effect?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: 1924. There are other people admissible to the United States known as the "non quota immigrants". These people are citizens of the American continents, and may come from Canada, Panama, Mexico, Chile and any of the South American countries. There is also an Asiatic bar zone under the American law from which immigrants are not admissible.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: But Canadians do not come under the quota law?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: No, they are non quota immigrants. May I file a statement showing the immigrants admitted to the United States in the years 1940 to 1945 and the countries from which they come? It is as follows:

IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES

1940 to 1945

Year	From Europe	From Canada and From Asia	Newfoundland	All other Countries	Total Immigration
1940.....	50,454	1,913	11,078	7,311	70,756
1941.....	26,541	1,801	11,473	11,961	51,776
1942.....	11,153	564	10,599	6,465	28,781
1943.....	4,920	334	9,761	8,710	23,725
1944.....	4,509	227	10,143	13,672	28,551
1945.....	16,084	1,002	20,909	124	38,119

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Mr. Jolliffe, if this committee desires to carry its inquiry a little afield, would it be difficult to get the total number of immigrants to the United States by years, from 1850 to 1945?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I think I could secure that information if given a little time. I would have to secure it from Philadelphia, but I am sure they would be glad to give it to us.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Are the records kept in such a way that would indicate the country of origin of the immigrant?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I have the report here for 1944. It shows the immigrants to the United States from all countries, and then those from Europe, Asia and the individual countries. I have the information back as far as 1871, but not as to the individual years; they are shown in ten-year periods up to 1940.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: With the countries of origin?

Mr. JOLLIFFE: Yes, the countries of origin.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: If you have those figures up to 1940, we could take them by decades.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: They are shown by decades up to 1940 and for the individual years from 1940 to 1945.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: I think that would serve the purpose I have in mind. What I should like to get is a picture of the movement of immigration into the United States over the period I have indicated, showing the total number from the British Isles, Canada, European countries and so forth.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: The information is here by countries and it may be available by race; but the figures by countries will not compare with the figures by race. Do you wish both?

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: We could assume, for instance, that, for all practical purposes, immigrants who came from Great Britain to the United States over a period of years were British, while there might have been some Norwegians or Germans among them.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: That is right.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: It would at any rate approximate the countries of origin.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I will try to have a statement prepared which I think will meet your requirements.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I think such a statement would be very useful.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: I think the policy of immigration adopted in the past hundred years in the United States is of very considerable value to us in considering what policy we might recommend.

Mr. JOLLIFFE: I shall be glad to prepare something which might be helpful.

The CHAIRMAN: Is it the wish of the committee to put before the Senate a request to have so many copies of the proceedings printed?

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I would be pleased to make a motion to that effect.

The CHAIRMAN: The motion reads: "The standing Committee on Immigration and Labour beg leave to make its second report as follows: In connection with the order of reference of the 8th of May, 1946, directing the committee to examine into the operations and administration of the Immigration Act, etc., the committee recommends that it be authorized to print 1,000 copies of English and 200 copies in French of its day to day proceedings, and that Rule 100 be suspended in relation to the said printing."

The motion was agreed to.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I understand it is the intention of the committee to adjourn until Wednesday, the 29th, and at that time I would suggest that we hear the Ukrainians and if they are not available I will invite the Polish representative.

The committee adjourned until Wednesday, May 29th, at 10.30 a.m.

APPENDIX

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, DEC. 23, 1945

TRUMAN STATEMENT ON DISPLACED PERSONS

By The Associated Press

WASHINGTON, Dec. 22.—The text of President Truman's statement on admission to this country of displaced persons and refugees in Europe, and his directive to Federal agencies on the matter were as follows:—

Official Statement

The war has brought in its wake an appalling dislocation of populations in Europe. Many humanitarian organizations, including the United Nations Relief and the Rehabilitation Administration, are doing their utmost to solve the multitude of problems arising in connection with this dislocation of hundreds of thousands of persons. Every effort is being made to return the displaced persons and refugees in the various countries of Europe in their former homes. The great difficulty is that so many of these persons have no homes to which they may return. The immensity of the problem of displaced persons and refugees is almost beyond comprehension.

A number of countries in Europe, including Switzerland, Sweden, France and England, are working toward its solution. The United States shares the responsibility to relieve the suffering. To the extent that our present immigration law permit, everything possible should be done at once to facilitate the entrance of some of these displaced persons and refugees into the United States.

In this way we may do something to relieve human misery and set an example to the other countries of the world which are able to receive some of these war sufferers. I feel that it is essential that we do this ourselves to show our good faith in requesting other nations to open their doors for this purpose.

Most of these persons are natives of central and eastern Europe and the Balkans. The immigration quotas for all these countries for one year total approximately 39,000 two-thirds of which are allotted to Germany. Under the law, in any single month the number of visas issued cannot exceed 10 per cent of the annual quota. This means that from now on only about 3,900 visas can be issued each month to persons who are natives of these countries.

War-Years Immigration

Very few persons from Europe have migrated to the United States during the war years. In the fiscal year 1942, only 10 per cent of the immigration quotas was used; in 1943, 5 per cent; in 1944, 6 per cent; and in 1945, 7 per cent. As of Nov. 30, 1945, the end of the fifth month of the present fiscal year, only about 10 per cent of the quotas for the European countries has been used. These unused quotas however do not accumulate through the years, and I do not intend to ask the Congress to change this rule.

The factors chiefly responsible for these low immigration figures were restraints imposed by the enemy, transportation difficulties and the absence of consular facilities. Most of those Europeans who have been admitted to the United States during the last five years were persons who left Europe prior to the war, and thereafter entered here from non-European countries.

I consider that common decency and the fundamental comradeship of all human beings require us to do what lies within our power to see that our established immigration quotas are used in order to reduce human suffering. I am taking the necessary steps to see that this is done as quickly as possible.

Of the displaced persons and refugees whose entrance into the United States we will permit under this plan, it is hoped that the majority will be orphaned children. The provisions of law prohibiting the entry of persons likely to become public charges will be strictly observed. Responsible welfare organizations now at work in this field will guarantee that these children will not become public charges.

Similar guarantees have to be or will be made on behalf of adult persons. The records of these welfare organizations throughout the past years have been excellent, and I am informed that no persons admitted under their sponsorship have ever become charges on their communities. Moreover, many of the immigrants will have close family ties in the United States and will receive the assistance of their relatives until they are in a position to provide for themselves.

These relatives or organizations will also advance the necessary visa fees and travel fare. Where the necessary funds for travel fare and visa fees have not been advanced by a welfare organization or relative, the individual applicant must meet these costs. In this way the transportation of these immigrants across the Atlantic will not cost the American taxpaying a single dollar.

In order to enter the United States it is necessary to obtain a visa from a consular officer of the Department of State. As everyone knows, a great many of our consular establishments all over the world were disrupted and their operations suspended when the war came. It is physically impossible to reopen and to restaff all of them overnight. Consequently it is necessary to choose the area in which to concentrate our immediate efforts. This is a painful necessity because it requires us to make an almost impossible choice among degrees of misery. But if we refrain from making a choice because it will necessarily be arbitrary, no choice will ever be made and we shall end by helping no one.

The decision has been made, therefore, to concentrate our immediate efforts in the American zones of occupation in Europe. This is not intended, however, entirely to exclude issuances of visas in other parts of the world.

In our zones in Europe there are citizens of every major European country. Visas issued to displaced persons and refugees will be charged, according to law, to the countries of their origin. They will be distributed fairly among persons of all faiths, creeds and nationality.

It is intended that, as soon as practicable, regular consular facilities will be reestablished in every part of the world, and the usual, orderly method of registering and reviewing visa applications will be resumed. The pressing need, however, is to act now in a way that will produce immediate and tangible results. I hope that by early spring adequate consular facilities will be in operation in our zones in Europe, so that immigration can begin immediately upon the availability of ships.

I am informed that there are various measures now pending before the Congress which would either prohibit or severely reduce further immigration. I hope that such legislation will not be passed. This period of unspeakable human distress is not the time for us to close or to narrow our gates. I wish to emphasize however, that any effort to bring relief to these displaced persons and refugees must and will be strictly within the limits of the present quotas as imposed by law.

Decision on Oswego Refugees

There is one particular matter involving a relatively small number of aliens. President Roosevelt, in an endeavor to assist in handling displaced persons and refugees during the war and upon the recommendation of the War Refugee Board, directed that a group of about 1,000 displaced persons be removed from refugee camps in Italy and settled temporarily in a war relocation camp near Oswego, N.Y. Shortly thereafter, President Roosevelt informed the Congress that these persons would be returned to their homelands after the war.

Upon the basis of a careful survey by the Department of State and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, it has been determined that if these persons were now applying for admission to the United States most of them would be admissible under the immigration laws.

In the circumstances it would be inhumane and wasteful to require these people to go all the way back to Europe merely for the purpose of applying there for immigration visas and returning to the United States. Many of them have close relatives, including sons and daughters, who are citizens of United States and who have served and are serving honourably in the armed forces of our country.

I am therefore, directing the Secretary of State and the Attorney General to adjust the immigration status of the members of this camp who may wish to remain here, in strict accordance with existing laws and regulations.

The number of persons at the Oswego camp is, however, comparatively small. Our major task is to facilitate the entry into the United States of displaced persons and refugees still in Europe. To meet this larger problem I am directing the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, the Secretary of War, the War Shipping Administrator and the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service to proceed at once to take all appropriate steps to expedite the quota immigration of displaced persons and refugees from Europe to the United States. Representatives of these officials will depart for Europe very soon to prepare detailed plans for the prompt execution of this project.

The attached directive has been issued by me to the responsible Government agencies to carry out this policy. I wish to emphasize, above all, that nothing in this directive will deprive a single American soldier or his wife or children of a berth on a vessel homeward bound; or delay their return.

This is the opportunity for America to set an example for the rest of the world in cooperation toward alleviating human misery.

THE DIRECTIVE

December 22, 1945.

Memorandum to: Secretary of State, Secretary of War, Attorney General, War Shipping Administrator, Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, Director General of UNRRA.

The grave dislocation of populations in Europe resulting from the war has produced human suffering that the people of the United States cannot and will not ignore. This Government should take every possible measure to facilitate full immigration to the United States under existing quota laws.

The war has most seriously disrupted our normal facilities for handling immigration matters in many parts of the world.. At the same time the demands upon those facilities have increased manifold.

It is, therefore, necessary that immigration under the quotas be resumed initially in the areas of greatest need. I, therefore, direct the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, the Attorney General, the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, the War Shipping Administrator, and other appropriate officials to take the following action:

The Secretary of State is directed to establish with the utmost dispatch consular facilities at or near displaced person and refugee assembly centre areas in the American zones of occupation. It shall be the responsibility of these consular officers, in conjunction with the immigrant inspectors, to determine as quickly as possible the eligibility of the applicants for visas and admission to the United States.

For this purpose the Secretary will, if necessary, divert the personnel and funds of his department from other functions in order to insure the most expeditious handling of this operation. In cooperation with the Attorney General he shall appoint as temporary vice consuls, authorized to issue visas, such officers of the Immigration and Naturalization Service as can be made available for this program.

Within the limits of administrative discretion, the officers of the Department of State assigned to this program shall make every effort to simplify and to hasten the process of issuing visas. If necessary, blocs of visa numbers may be assigned to each of the emergency consular establishments. Each such bloc may be used to meet the applications filed at the consular establishment to which the bloc is assigned. It is not intended, however, entirely to exclude the issuance of visas in other parts of the world.

Visas should be distributed fairly among persons of all faiths, creeds and nationalities. I desire that special attention be devoted to orphaned children to whom it is hoped the majority of visas will be issued.

With respect to the requirement of law that visas may not be issued to applicants likely to become public charges after admission to the United States, the Secretary of State shall co-operate with the immigration and naturalization service in perfecting appropriate arrangements with welfare organizations in the United States which may be prepared to guarantee financial support to successful applicants. This may be accomplished by corporate affidavit or by any means deemed appropriate and practicable.

The Secretary of War, subject to limitation imposed by the Congress on War Department appropriations, will give such help as is practicable in:—

- (a) Furnishing information to appropriate consular officers and immigrant inspectors to facilitate in the selection of applicants for visas; and
- (b) Assisting until other facilities suffice in:
 - (1) Transporting immigrants to a European port;
 - (2) Feeding, housing and providing medical care to such immigrants until embarked; and
- (c) Making available office facilities, billets, messes and transportation for Department of State, Department of Justice and United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration personnel connected with this work, where practicable and requiring no out-of-pocket expenditure by the War Department and when other suitable facilities are not available.

The Attorney General, through the Immigration and Naturalization Service, will assign personnel on duty in the American zones of operation to make the immigration inspections, to assist consular officers of the Department of State in connection with the issuance of visas and to take the necessary steps to settle the cases of those Allies presently interned at Oswego through appropriate statutory and administrative processes.

Protects Soldiers' Return

The administration of the War Shipping Administration will make the necessary arrangements for water transportation from the port of embarkation in Europe to the United States, subject to the provision that the movement of immigrants will in no way interfere with the scheduled return of service personnel and their spouses and children from the European Theatre.

The surgeon general of the public health service will assign to duty in the American zones of occupation the necessary personnel to conduct the mental and physical examinations of prospective immigrants prescribed in the immigration laws.

The director general of the United Nations Relief Administration will be requested to provide all possible aid to the United States authorities in preparing these people for transportation to the United States and to assist in their care, particularly in the cases of children in transit and other needing special attention.

In order to insure the effective execution of this program, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, the Attorney General, War Shipping Administrator and the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service shall appoint representatives to serve as members of an interdepartmental committee under the chairmanship of the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization.

1946

THE SENATE OF CANADA



PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

Immigration and Labour

On the operation and administration of the
Immigration Act, etc.

No. 2

WEDNESDAY, 29th MAY, 1946

The Honourable James Murdock, P.C., Chairman

WITNESSES:

- Mr. A. Hlynka, M.P.
Mr. J. R. Solomon, M.L.A., Winnipeg, Manitoba.
Flight Lieutenant B. Panchuk, M.B.E.
Mr. John Boychuk, Toronto, Ontario, National Secretary, Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association.
Mr. Stephen Macievich, Toronto, Ontario, Editor of *Ukrainian Life*.
Reverend Father Dr. W. Kushner, Winnipeg, Manitoba, President, Ukrainian Canadian Committee.
Reverend S. W. Sawchuk, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Vice-President, Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

CONTENTS:

- Brief on Immigration by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
Schedule showing immigrants admitted to the United States 1820-1945.
Schedule showing immigration to the United States from Canada and Newfoundland, 1820-1945.

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1946

STANDING COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND LABOUR

The Honourable JAMES MURDOCK, P.C., Chairman

The Honourable Senators

Aseltine	Donnelly	McGeer
Blais	Dupuis	Molloy
Bouchard	Euler	Murdock
Bourque	Ferland	Pirie
Buchanan	Haig	Robertson
Burchill	Hardy	Robinson
Calder	Horner	Roebuck
Campbell	Hushion	Taylor
Crerar	Lesage	Vaillancourt
Daigle	Macdonald (<i>Cardigan</i>)	Veniot
David	McDonald (<i>Shediac</i>)	Wilson

ORDER OF REFERENCE

EXTRACT from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Senate, Wednesday, May 8, 1946.

"That the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour be authorized and directed to examine into the Immigration Act (R.S.C. Chapter 93 and Amendments) its operation and administration and the circumstances and conditions relating thereto including (a) the desirability of admitting immigrants to Canada, (b) the type of immigrant which should be preferred, including origin, training and other characteristics, (c) the availability of such immigrants for admission, (d) the facilities, resources and capacity of Canada to absorb, employ and maintain such immigrants, and (e) the appropriate terms and conditions of such admission;

And that the said Committee report its findings to this house;

And that the said Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records."

L. C MOYER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

WEDNESDAY, 29th May, 1946.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour met this date at 10.30 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Murdock, Chairman; Aseltine, Blais, Buchanan, Campbell, Crerar, David, Haig, Horner, MacDonald (*Cardigan*), McDonald (*Shediac*), McGeer, Molloy, Robertson, Robinson, Roebuck, and Taylor—17.

The official reporters of the Senate were in attendance.

The Committee resumed consideration of the order of reference of 8th May, 1946, directing the Committee to examine into the operation and administration of the Immigration Act, etc.

Mr. A. Hlynka, M.P. was heard in explanation of the objectives of the Ukrainian Association of Canada.

Mr. J. R. Solomon, M.L.A., Winnipeg, Manitoba, was heard and read a brief on immigration by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

Flight Lieutenant B. Panchuk, M.B.E., was heard with respect to the refugee problem in Europe, and advocated immigration to Canada of certain refugee peoples of Europe.

Mr. John Boychuk, Toronto, Ontario, National Secretary, Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, was heard.

A brief by the Association of Ukrainian Canadians, the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, the Workers' Benevolent Association, and the newspaper *Ukrainian Life*, was read by Mr. Stephen Macievich, Toronto, Ontario, Editor of *Ukrainian Life*.

Reverend Father Dr. W. Kushner, Winnipeg, Manitoba, President, Ukrainian Canadian Committee, was heard.

Reverend S. W. Sawchuk, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Vice-President, Ukrainian Canadian Committee, was heard.

On motion of Honourable Senator Roebuck, it was resolved to report recommending:—

That the Committee be authorized to print 1,000 copies in English and 200 copies in French of its day to day proceedings on the Bill L15, intituled: "An Act to amend The Unemployment Insurance Act, 1940," and that Rule 100 be suspended in relation to the said printing.

The following statements, filed by the Director of Immigration, were ordered to be printed in the record:—

Immigrants admitted to the United States 1820-1945.

Immigration to the United States from Canada and Newfoundland 1820-1945.

At 1.10 p.m. the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chairman.

Attest.

H. ARMSTRONG,
Clerk of the Committee.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

THE SENATE,

OTTAWA, Wednesday, May 29, 1946.

The Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour, which was authorized and directed to examine into the Immigration Act, met this day at 10.30 a.m.

Hon. Mr. Murdock in the Chair.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Anthony Hlynka, the Commons member for Vegreville, is here as head of the delegation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. Many of them are from Winnipeg, and I know Mr. Hlynka would like to say a word just by introduction.

Mr. A. HLYNKA, M.P.: Mr. Chairman and honourable members of the Committee: I consider it a privilege, indeed, to have been asked to introduce to you the delegation of the Unrainian Canadian Committee.

Before proceeding with the introduction of each of the five delegates, I should like to say a word about the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee is a co-ordinating organization of six nation-wide Canadian organizations, which embrace about eighty per cent of all organized Canadians of Ukrainian origin. The six organizations are: The Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics of Canada, The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, Ukrainian National Federation, The United Hetman Organizations, the League of Ukrainian Labour Organizations and the Ukrainian Canadian Service-men's Association, which is composed of Canadian veterans of Ukrainian origin of the two Great Wars.

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee was formed at the beginning of the war and its founders had two definite objectives in view:

First, to assist Canada more effectively in the prosecution of the war.

And second, to interpret to Canadians, generally, the problems of the Ukrainian people.

And now I take pleasure in introducing to you, Mr. Chairman and the Committee, Very Reverend Dr. W. Kushner, President of Ukrainian Canadian Committee and Chancellor of Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church of Canada. Reverend Dr. Kushner has just recently returned from a four months' tour of Western Europe where he has visited most of the Ukrainian displaced persons camps in British and American zones of Germany and Italy and several other important centres.

Next, I should like to introduce to you Very Reverend Captain S. W. Sawchuk, Vice-President of Ukrainian Canadian Committee, and head of Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church in Canada. Reverend Captain Sawchuk has served as chaplain in this war and has been overseas.

I now wish to present Mr. J. R. Solomon, a Liberal member of the Manitoba Legislature and member of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. Mr. Solomon is a barrister by profession.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: He comes from a good province.

Mr. A. HLYNKA, M.P.: Next I wish to present Mr. Eugene Dowhan, a business man in the city of Montreal.

And now I have much pleasure in introducing,

Flight-Lieutenant B. Panchuk, who has just returned from England. He served in the Royal Canadian Air Force for five years and has been four years

nine months overseas. He has been mentioned in dispatches and was awarded the M.B.E. He toured Europe extensively. He served in the Intelligence Branch. I am sure that Flight-Lieutenant Panchuk will give us some information which will be valuable to the Committee.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Hlynka has overlooked the most important member of the delegation. He is too modest. I wish to introduce Mrs. Hlynka, the wife of the member.

Mr. A. HLYNKA, M.P.: That just shows how good it is to have friends in the Committee. I must thank Mr. Roebuck for introducing Mrs. Hlynka. I believe Mr. Solomon will be the first to speak, and he will introduce the subject and also deal with the brief of which copies have been distributed to the honourable members of the Committee. I am not sure just how the proceedings will get on, but we hope to be able to call also Flight-Lieutenant Panchuk to speak after Mr. Solomon has talked to you, and your questions are asked.

Mr. J. R. SOLOMON, M.L.A. (Manitoba): Mr. Chairman and honourable members of this Committee. When I came here first of all I was going to approach the Committee with a considerable amount of diffidence, but when I saw the honourable senators from Manitoba, namely Mr. Crerar and Mr. Haig, I began to feel a little more at home. When Mr. Hlynka introduced me I noticed that one of the honourable members mentioned the only thing against me was that I happened to be a lawyer by profession. Now, I am satisfied that is not representative of the opinion of the senators, because we have a very capable senator from Manitoba, Mr. Haig, who happens to be in the same profession.

We want to thank the Chairman and the members of this Committee for giving us an opportunity to present our views on such an important subject matter as immigration. The time was rather short, and consequently detailed data could not be gathered. We have tried to give this Committee as clear a picture as we could, in the written brief before you. I will limit myself to making a few observations relative to the same. The question of immigration has always been a matter of great importance to a young and expanding country like Canada, but never has it loomed so large as at the present time. The experiences of the last war have demonstrated to the thinly populated countries how hard it is to defend huge territories with limited man power. Countries like our fellow-member of the Commonwealth Australia, which is living in the midst of restless masses of potential aggressors, realized the principle very quickly, and immediately after the cessation of hostilities announced her immigration policy and set up a commission to solicit immigration from Europe.

The same principles which underlie Australian policy apply even more strongly to the Dominion of Canada. We are richer in actual and potential resources and occupy a position in world trade out of all proportion to our population. And as possessors of the world's chief uranium fields we are bound to be coveted more and more by future aggressors. For us therefore there can be little security or prosperity without a very substantial increase in population.

Canada as yet has not announced her policy on immigration. Before the war our policy was limited to few refugees and relatives of the Canadian citizens. Changing circumstances arising out of this war make immigration to this country essential and necessary. The discovery of the atomic bomb has not only brought about changes in the fortunes of war, but it is bound to cause a revolution in the industrial fields as well. A great and wealthy country like Canada cannot escape its destiny as a leading trading and commercial nation, nor can it control that destiny successfully with insufficient number. Canada needs more population but she cannot obtain it by natural growth alone without resort to immigration.

In Canada it is not a question of finding room for the new settler, as we are one of the few countries still remaining capable of absorbing more people.

It is purely a question of whether we want immigration and, if we do, what kind of immigration. Temporarily Canada is engaged in rehabilitating the ex-service men. No man would quarrel with such a laudable object. When this goal shall have been achieved there surely should be enough room for many others to be brought in.

I would not like to dwell too long on the question of the necessity of immigration. I am sure that it is generally admitted in Canada that we should open our doors to immigration. The only question that I have heard against immigration is a question of fear of unemployment. This fear is naturally built on fallacious presumption, for increased population diversifies occupations, increases consumption and thereby creates more instead of less employment. To substantiate my contention I would like to quote the Honourable Senator Crerar. He is from the West, where a spirit of pioneering still prevails. He said:—

The effect of immigration from 1889 to the outbreak of the First Great War is seen in the fact that during that period Canada made greater progress in the accumulation of wealth and the development of industry than at any previous time in her history. Why? Because the immigrants, though in general having very little capital, worked steadily and were continuously producing new wealth. There were railways constructed, towns built, coal mines opened, timber areas exploited, and the prairie sod was broken. The plain fact of the matter is that by increasing your population and diversifying your activities you stimulate and fructify business and commerce in a score of ways.

May I be permitted to add that with our potential natural resources, and with a population of at least twice the number we have, Canada could easily equal if not surpass the industrialness and wealth of our good neighbour to the south. Our maintenance of railroads, highways and other public utilities would cease to be a burden and our standard of living would automatically increase.

With your indulgence I would like to submit one more reason for opening the doors for immigration.

If we wish to avoid wars in the future let us get rid of the causes of war. In a continent where literally hundreds of people are congested in one square mile of territory there is always bound to be trouble unless that congestion is relieved; for when some people have too much and some too little there is bound to be future conflict. No country has greater love than the one which is willing to share its bounty with others, not as an outright gift but as an offer of citizenship with concurrent benefits and responsibilities.

His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, in a radio address, June 1, 1941, put the correct philosophy of the situation when he said:—

Our planet with all its extent of oceans and seas and lakes, with mountains and plains covered with eternal snows and ice, with great deserts and tractless lands, is not, at the same time, without habitable regions and vital spaces now abandoned to wild natural vegetation, and well suited to be cultivated by man to satisfy his needs and civil activities; and more than once, it is inevitable that some families migrating from one spot to another should go elsewhere in search of a new homeland. Then according to the teaching of the *rerum novarum* the right of the family to a vital space is recognized. When this happens emigration attains its natural scope as experience often shows; we mean the favorable distribution of men on the earth's surface which God created and prepared for use of all. In this way the nations which give and those which receive will both contribute to the increased welfare of man and the progress of human culture.

As I stated at the outset, Canada has first to decide what her policy on immigration should be; and, secondly, what type of immigration she wants. I have submitted to you some of the arguments in favour of immigration. Now I would like to make some references to the type of immigration Canada should have. The Honourable Senator Roebuck, in speaking to his motion to set up this committee, made a very pointed observation when he said:—

And all along the journey, both north and south, lie millions of dormant acres waiting the turn of the plough. And as one travels on that long journey one cannot help but wonder how so small a population can maintain such a huge transportation system passing through so much empty space. 12,000,000 people cannot do it, and the reason is under-population, too few people to keep the wheels of industry turning.

We have to settle this vast country referred to by Senator Roebuck. In settling this land we should take into consideration that we would need people with pioneering vision, people with love for the land, and people who could face the shortcomings with staunch hearts and willing hands. I submit that the Ukrainian people who were brought to this country at the turn of the last century have amply demonstrated that they possess the qualities necessary for the building of the country. Let us analyse the contributions of these people to Canada in the last 50 years.

Major M. Syrotuck, a senior fieldman of the Live Stock and Poultry Branch of the Department of Agriculture, who has just returned from Europe, where he was an agricultural adviser to the British Military Government of Occupation writes:—

When one considers the days when the first Ukrainians came to Canada with no knowledge of the language, with nothing in their pockets but the price of a homestead entry fee, with no personal possessions but those contained in a knapsack strapped to their backs, with no buildings, no fencing, and no land under cultivation, it is little short of marvellous how well they have done for themselves since that time. Today the West is literally studded with farms of the most modern type owned by those former immigrants. And in many parts of the country much land that was considered unfit for cultivation has been turned to productive use by these persevering and thrifty settlers. Most decidedly the Ukrainians have proved to be a most constructive element in Canada, adding greatly to the wealth of this country.

In the early days of Canadian immigration much had been made of the so-called illiteracy of the early Ukrainian immigrant. But little attention has been paid to his latent and natural intelligence. The first batch of Ukrainian immigrants was recruited from the poorest classes, land-hungry peasants, who never had a chance to go to school. But they were intelligent peasants nevertheless; for they had to be, to get along as well as they did. The test of a man is what he does with the means at his disposal; and most certainly those people did much with so little. While they may have been illiterate themselves, yet they were intelligent enough to see to it that their children got an adequate education. One today could point out hundreds of cases where children of so-called illiterate parents attained the highest degree of education, in many instances with the highest distinction. Today honour students are no longer a rarity among Ukrainians, but a frequency.

Mr. F. T. Hawryliuk, Superintendent of Schools in Saskatchewan, writes:—

Their contribution to the teaching profession is an amazing record which gives some indication of the general level of educational uplift of the Ukrainians in Western Canada during the past forty years. In 1906

a small group of young men were trained for public school teachers. In 1936, I made a detailed survey of fully qualified teachers, in the three Western provinces and, at that time, the figure was 830. I have not compiled any more statistics since then but I feel certain that this figure could be doubled in 1946.

In the field of higher education the rate of progress is no less spectacular when we consider that in 1913 the first and only one Ukrainian graduated from the University of Manitoba. Ten years later, in 1923, there were already 25 university graduates from the three prairie universities. The last census I made was in 1934; it listed 167 university graduates. I have no figures since 1934, but during the academic year 1934-1935 alone, there were 198 university students registered in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. This constant increase in higher education continued even through the depression years and up to the beginning of the second great war.

As may be expected, a large percentage of the university graduates followed specialized fields and professions such as medicine, law, agriculture and engineering. Several of these have won distinctions and have been appointed university professors, such as Mr. Pawlichenko, one of Canada's best authorities on weeds. The percentage employed in the civil service is relatively small, but there are already nine or ten agricultural representatives, six inspectors of schools and a number of smaller officials in the various departments.

Mr. Bodnar, fieldman of the Department of Agriculture stationed at Dauphin, Manitoba, writes about an Ogryzlo family that migrated to the Sifton district in 1897. One of the sons of that original family married in the community and had a family of six children, all of whom are graduates of the University of Manitoba.

The case of the Ogryzlo family is only one of many examples that could be cited in illustration of the economic and educational progress of our immigrants. They can be found in practically every community—the Potockis, the Kostashes, the Sirnyks, and so on. And in almost every case these families started life under the most adverse circumstances, with nothing but stout hearts, intelligent minds and willing hands to bank on. They were recruited from the poorest and most illiterate classes, who never owned more than two or three acres of land nor saw the inside of a school-room, and yet from this so-called lower strata of society a type of pioneer was chosen that has helped enrich this country beyond the fondest dreams of even those who first brought them in.

Back in the homeland the Ukrainians have always been distinctly agricultural people, and in Canada the majority of them live on the land. According to the 1941 statistics there were one third of a million of people of Ukrainian origin in Canada. Sixty-five per cent of them were Canadian born, 90 per cent of them were British Subjects, 48 per cent were gainfully employed on the farm—the average for Canada being 25 per cent—and 93 per cent were able to speak either French or English. The Ukrainian is a tiller of a soil from time immemorial and has taken to soil from genuine love of the land. There is no question but that he would gravitate towards this end if admitted to Canada. The similarity of the Ukrainian steppe to the Canadian prairies would make it quite easy for him to acclimatize himself to the conditions here, for the change would be one of place and not of method. To illustrate how well these people have taken to the soil, allow me to quote T. P. Devlin, assistant director of Colonization and Immigration of the Canadian National Railways, who sponsored the community progress in western Canada:—

The prize money awarded in these competitions has been put to good use in livestock and seed grain improvement work, in providing

scholarships to agricultural schools for outstanding students of Ukrainian parentage, in the beautification of rural school grounds and in other benefits to the community. Such districts as Willingdon in Alberta, Krydor and Hafford in Saskatchewan, Vita, Rossburn and Sifton in Manitoba, are representative of the communities competing. The Vita district in Manitoba, for example, used their prize money for the development of better poultry feeding and finishing, with the result that to-day the Vita district ranks as one of the best producers of high-class commercial finished poultry in Western Canada. The revolving fund is still intact. Each year hundreds of day-old chicks are bought with the money and when the poultry is sold in the fall the money is returned to the trust fund.

The foregoing is only one example. Other examples could be found.

From our experience we are happy to conclude that Ukrainian people have made a great contribution to the agricultural development of Western Canada. They are progressive and anxious to become acquainted with the best land cultural practices and follow up-to-date methods in the care, feeding and management of live stock. They are anxious to learn the English language and are thereby able to assume their full responsibilities as Canadian citizens.

If one wanted more testimonies you could quote the Honourable Senator Crerar, who in my estimation knows about the background of these people as much as any man in western Canada. He lived in a community which is a living example of the progress these people made. I would not want to belabour the subject, however, as you have already heard the Senator on the matter in question.

When one reflects back and retrospectively analyses the progress of these people, one cannot help but marvel at the accomplishment. Some of the greatest progress in agriculture has been reported from Alberta. Here ignorance has been dissipated by the highest type of scientific agriculture. Mr. Skladan, a son of a Ukrainian pioneer, becomes world's Oat King(only to be uncrowned a few years later by another Ukrainian, Mr. Pawlokski. These are but illustrative cases. There are hundreds of thousands of cases in western Canada where Ukrainians have taken to scientific farming and have managed not only to hold their own but to excel in many cases.

Measured by any standard whatsoever we fail to see wherein and how it takes longer to make a desirable citizen out of a Ukrainian than out of any other European. He learns English just as fast; he educates his children just as readily; he serves on school and municipal boards just as well; and in the matter of paying his debt, his record is second to none in the Dominion.

As regards war service, it has been estimated that about 35,000 Ukrainian boys and girls joined up as volunteers in the armed service. In a featured article in the Geographical Journal, Mr. Wright points out that "more Ukrainians from Saskatchewan in proportion to population have joined up than any other nationality." And in the matter of war bonds and certificates, they certainly do not lag behind others in the purchase thereof.

Perhaps as good a picture as any of the way Ukrainians enlisted in the last war can be seen in the manner in which our young men enlisted in the armed forces, or rather by citing four lists which appeared on four successive days in one of our western daily newspapers.

List No. 1: 10 Ukrainians out of 36 volunteers:

Adamyk, Krysko, Pawlyk, Maruszczka, Poburan, Sikorski, Talpash, Zetaruk, Cheknita, Leskiw.

List No 2; Ukrainians out of 44 volunteers:

Dembicki, Bigoray, Babish, Baran, Sorochan, Skrypnyk, Bilyk.

List No. 3: 7 Ukrainians out of 45 volunteers:

Bayrock, Czech, Dashkevich, Zebeluk, Lozinski, Stroich.

List No 4: 5 Ukrainians out of 48 volunteers:

Kul, Bahri, Krechenuk, Procik, Buray.

Thus out of 173 volunteers, 29 were of Ukrainian extraction, which on a percentage basis gives the Ukrainian boys about 11 per cent of the total. As the population of Alberta is about 750,000, and the Ukrainians there number about 71,000, they constitute barely 6 per cent of the total. And yet according to the above figures their percentage of volunteers, 11 per cent, is almost twice as high as their population percentage; which goes to show that they more than did their part in war service.

I want to believe that generally speaking the contribution of the Canadians of Ukrainian origin to Canada has been recognized. The only obstacle to recognition seems to be base on the fallacy that the whole race should be indicted for the acts of a few. During the war I heard it said in many quarters that all Ukrainians were zombies. The person making such a statement in all probability knew a few zombies of Ukrainian origin and immediately formed his own conclusions. This is particularly true in the field of crime. The matter of crime seemed to afford a special reason for abuse. If an alien was brought up for theft, then all foreigners were thieves; if a foreigner beat his wife, then all Canadians were murderers; and so *ad infinitum*, making the crime of an individual an indication of the mentality and morality of the race to which the said individual may have belonged.

Edmund Burke once said: "I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people. I really think that for wise men this is not judicious; for sober men, not decent; for minds tinctured with humanity, not mild or merciful."

It is therefore neither mild, merciful nor judicious to tag all Ukrainians with the crime of one of their race. There is good and bad in every race, and on the average one is no better or no worse than the other. A study of the judicial and penitentiary statistics shows quite definitely that the crime record of our so-called aliens is no worse on the whole than that of our native-born.

There is one more fear about immigration, a fear that we have heard expressed on many occasions, a fear that when we bring European immigrants to Canada, immigrants of various backgrounds, people who have had embedded in their culture the hate and years of world-wide attitude towards each other, that they will perpetuate their animosity on this continent. I would like to dispel any such fears by just pointing out the relations which exist between the Canadians of the Polish and Ukrainian peoples. No one could say that these people love each other in Europe. Still, on this continent they have demonstrated beyond any reasonable shadow of doubt that they can live in harmony and in brotherhood. If one was to look at the statistics of intermarriage, one could not help but note with approval the situation that was created by their mutual intercourse.

It is quite true that Europe is a seething, restless conglomeration of races, differing in language and religion, and with all the smouldering feuds of by-gone ages. It is also true that we have a miniature Europe in Canada; but one cannot help but note the difference in attitude on the part of our polyglot and cosmopolitan inhabitants not only in regard to the country of their adoption, but also towards the other races that are making their contribution in the building of this great nation. Differences in temperament and characteristics there naturally must be; but these will all be ironed out when our alien inhabitants will have been acclimatized and inured to their new surroundings, and when tactful handling will have convinced them that they are accepted as equals, to share the benefits as well as the responsibilities of our citizenship.

If we objected to the illiterate immigrants of a century ago—and as I have illustrated above they have done well—what should be our attitude towards the educated refugees of to-day? The European continent is literally flooded with men and women of refinement looking for sanctuary. A great many of them are trained scientific farmers, forestry men, co-operative executives—and no one could deny that the co-operatives in western Ukraine were excelled by none in the world—men of industry and men of science. Their only sin, as Miss Elma Birkett puts it, is that:—

To-day, all Ukrainians, regardless from which part of their country they come, are in tragic position. By nature individualist and Western-minded, imbued with fanatical love of personal freedom, they find themselves geographically squeezed between two totalitarian systems, both of which they feared and hated.

To-day when the guns are quiet in Europe, the future of Ukrainians scattered across the continent is still very dark.

The problem of all these wretched people is one of the greatest magnitude. Their fate in Europe is one of the terrible consequences of this war. They do not claim any priority in getting help from the outside world. But should not their case, simply for reasons of humanity, receive more attention than until now.

As Miss Birkett puts it so aptly, they are not criminals, they are not pro-Nazi or collaborationists; they are individualists who at the price of life dared to disagree with a system of government prevailing in their native land. Even if there should be an odd collaborationist among these refugees who has not been disclosed as yet, I for one surely hold no brief for them. I have enough confidence in the British and American judicial tribunals to know that the men who have committed acts of collaboration will be found, tried, and dealt with in accordance with law and justice. The people on whose behalf our committee appears here to-day are the innocent refugees who have no place to go to—people who know that back home they will not be able to worship God in their own way, people who know that to differ with the government in their own land would mean banishment and death. In actual practice they were not able to agree with the system of government which prevents a free expression of opinion. In other words, they would be representative of a cross-section of the Canadian people at large. None of the members of this committee are members of a communist group. I am sure that we all disagree with the communistic principles of administration. Still, we would be the first people who would raise our voices in protest if the communists in Canada were not allowed to express their opinions. If the form of government that is practised in the native land of Ukraine was implemented in this country, then there would be no room for anybody who disagreed with the government in power.

These people chose flight rather than the strait-jacket limitation of communism. And in this respect they acted in no wise different from the way a Canadian would have acted in their place. They preferred to wander into the regions of the unknown rather than remain among the legions of serfs and abject slaves; for their love of freedom transcended such fears and buoyed them with the hope that some day, perhaps, they would be free in fact as well as in thought, to work, to live and to worship in complete safety. These people are not Nazi sympathizers or collaborators, as communistic propaganda would have us believe, but genuine lovers of liberty and all that it stands for. For the Ukrainians always have been a democratic people.

"One of the finest traits in the Ukrainian national character," writes William Henry Chamberlain, author of "Russia's Iron Age", "is the love of liberty." The Ukrainian heroes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the Cossacks, the warrior frontiersmen who fled from the yoke of the Polish

squire or Russian landlord and founded their wild, free military community "beyond the rapids", on the Lower Dnieper. They went on expeditions, half-crusading, half-marauding, against Turks and Tartars, liberating large numbers of Christians who were held in slavery.

If these refugees love liberty as we love it, should we be the first to condemn them? If they choose exile, yea, even death, rather than return to slavery, should we be the first to castigate them?

This brief is not an effort to belittle one race and ask priority for another, but rather an appeal for equal opportunity and a square deal to all races. We believe that the war has broken down many preconceived ideas with regard to racial concepts, in so far as the races which considered backward have by their extraordinary heroism and supreme will to survive earned the right to equality.

We thus think that it would be a major contribution to world economic relocation if under-populated countries like Canada admitted some of the surplus population of Europe to our shores, thus creating a home market for our raw material which otherwise would have to depend upon an uncertain foreign trade.

We do not believe in the bogey set up by those who think that each immigrant brought to Canada will displace some one already resident here. Mr. David H. Popper in the "*Survey Graphic*", New York, refutes this contention when he says:—

Apparently it has been useless, thus far, to point out that every immigrant is a consumer as well as a producer; that he requires food, clothing and shelter which will be furnished by local labour; that history abounds in examples of fructifying migration movements which brought new industries, organizing ability and enterprise to growing countries or those threatened with stagnation or attack from abroad.

We believe that many of these refugees by reason of training and experience could be settled on the land and become a desirable asset to agricultural economy.

We believe that a portion of these refugees could be absorbed into the industries where their special talents would make a distinct contribution.

We believe that these refugees would be cultural as well as economic assets. Many of them already understand the English language, and, if not, their mastery of several other languages would enable them to acquire our own speech in a comparatively short time.

We believe that these refugees would bolster up our own type of democracy instead of undermining it. The harrowing experiences through which they have been forced, together with an inherent love of freedom, would not make them any the less democratic than they were before. Indeed, their appreciation of our way of life would be all the greater.

We believe that in any case these refugees should be aided. We are under a moral obligation at least to assist their resettlement elsewhere, but why should we send our money, food and aid out of the country, when we can bring them over here to feed themselves with the proceeds of their own labour?

We believe that the exceptional talent of many of these refugees would be instrumental in establishing new industries in this country, thereby improving our economic position.

We believe that it is only by virtue of greater population that Canada can achieve greater mass production with the usual accompanying lower prices of goods. This would help us compete with other countries more fairly.

We believe there are natural processes that assimilate the individual far assimilable type than the immigrant of yesterday by reason of his superior

education and more cosmopolitan outlook, and by reason of the necessity of nations to draw more closely together. The last war taught us that there are no superior races and no inferior races.

We believe there are natural processes which assimilate the individual far more effectively than the arbitrary hand of power; we have seen before our very eyes the formerly unbelievable mixture of the races of Canada by inter-marriage become assimilated. And we see in this union a force more powerful than even a San Francisco or London or New York Conference in welding together the people of the world, in that the union is more sincere and therefore more binding, unhampered as it is by expediency and political jockeying for place.

We see before our eyes the picture of the original immigrant, poor and illiterate, but hardy and determined, tracking his way to the homestead many miles away from the nearest homestead, fencing, plowing, brushing, seeding, reaping, meanwhile building a hut to live in, marrying, raising and educating a family, participating in the social, cultural and political life of the community, his children winning scholastic and civic honors, rising from poverty to comfort, saving his earnings, acquiring new holdings, and finally ending a long and useful life by succumbing only to the grim reaper who takes us all in his stride.

This is not the time to discriminate or differentiate, but to settle and allay. The Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms should be more than mere posters set up for display. The last war should have been a victory not only over a common enemy but over ourselves, as well as a victory of reason over intolerance.

With charity towards all, and malice towards none, let us implement things we fought for, or should have fought for. If we believe that men are created free and equal, let us, in the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt, "distil some real achievements out of the dregs of present disaster—and remembering the words written on the Statue of Liberty, let us lift aside new golden doors and build new refuges for the tired, for the poor, for the huddled masses yearning to be free."

The CHAIRMAN: That is a very fine presentation, Mr. Solomon. Might I ask what is the general racial language of the Ukrainians who might like to come to Canada, is it Russian or Polish?

Mr. SOLOMON: Ukrainians speak the Ukrainian language. As to their citizenship, I would not know what percentage would come from any particular country. A great percentage of them were in all probability citizens of Poland, and others might have been citizens of Rumania and of Russia. I have no statistics, sir. I doubt very much whether statistics could be obtained to show the percentage of the people among these refugees coming from Russia, Poland, or some other country.

The CHAIRMAN: They would probably speak the language of the country from which they came?

Mr. SOLOMON: In addition to their Ukrainian language, right.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: I might say, Mr. Chairman, as one perhaps more intimately acquainted with the Ukrainian people in Western Canada than any other member of the committee that I have lived nearly forty years at Blaine Lake, where half the people are Ukrainians. Krydor is purely Ukrainian, and there is a whole settlement at Redberry. With this experience I can endorse everything Mr. Solomon has said. Never at any time have I been opposed to immigration. I have always thought that it was narrow-minded to oppose it. I may say that the men who did actually work, even in the so-called years of depression, were Ukrainians. In 1930 they were never idle, they were willing to work and were able to secure a job. I know of many cases to-day where these Ukrainians have plenty to retire on, and the members of their family have been

well educated; many of them are now doctors and lawyers, others went overseas. By and large our Ukrainian immigrants have proved themselves good people for this country. I should like to see the Government move at once in the direction of a vigorous immigration policy. As I understand the statement we have listened to, these refugees do not wish to go back under a dictator form of government; they want freedom. That is the type of people we need in this country. Our own boys are not returning to the land, and we are wasting millions of acres for lack of cultivation. In my view the present large-scale farming in the West will have to give place to farming on the old basis of smaller farms and more intensive cultivation. In spite of the fact that some immigrants may have to be taken care of, I am, as I have said, in favour of a vigorous immigration policy, for in this country we have a very great need of men who are willing to work.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: We have had a magnificent brief presented to us by Mr. Solomon. I may perhaps be pardoned for saying that he did not need to stress the intelligence of the Ukrainians; he demonstrated it in himself.

Mr. HLYNKA: Flight-Lieutenant Panchuk would like to address the committee.

The CHAIRMAN: Before we hear him, are there any questions which honourable members desire to ask Mr. Solomon?

Hon. Mr. HAIG: Mr. Chairman, I would like to know something about those who come before us, and I should like to ask Mr. Solomon a few questions. Where were you born?

Mr. SOLOMON: In the district of Ashville, Manitoba.

Hon. J. A. McDONALD: Were both your parents Ukrainians?

Mr. SOLOMON: That is right.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: Where did you receive your education?

Mr. SOLOMON: At Dauphin College and the University of Manitoba.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: Graduating in—

Mr. SOLOMON: Law, 1934.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: When were you elected member for Emerson?

Mr. SOLOMON: 1941.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: And you were re-elected in—

Mr. SOLOMON: 1945 just recently.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: Thank you.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Mr. Chairman, I think it might be interesting to the committee if Mr. Solomon would say a word about the history of the Ukrainian people. Their roots in Europe go back for over a thousand years.

Mr. SOLOMON: That is right. May I say this to the committee. I would be only too glad to give the history of the Ukrainian people, but I would not want to take so much of your time to do it. I will give you an undertaking that when I get back to Winnipeg I will send each member of the committee a history of the Ukrainian people by Professor Doroshenko.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: There is just one other question that I should like to ask Mr. Solomon. The Manitoba Legislature, outside of soldier representatives, numbers fifty-five members.

Mr. SOLOMON: That is right.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: How many of the members are of Ukrainian nationality born in Canada?

Mr. SOLOMON: Six.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: And one of them has been a member for?

Mr. SOLOMON: He has been a member for twenty-seven or twenty-eight years, something like that.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: And I might add that he has been Deputy Speaker of the Legislature.

Mr. SOLOMON: That is right.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Mr. Solomon.

Now, Mr. Panchuk, go ahead.

Flight-Lieutenant PANCHUK, M.B.E.: Mr. Chairman, honourable senators, ladies and gentlemen, I prefer to stand in view of the fact that I have had to stand most of the time for the last five years.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: I would like the witness to tell us a little bit about himself. I would like to know something of the person who is talking. Where were you born?

Flight-Lieutenant PANCHUK: I was born near Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: When did you join the Royal Canadian Air Force?

Flight-Lieutenant PANCHUK: In 1940. I received three months' training in Toronto, and left for overseas.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: Where was your base?

Flight-Lieutenant PANCHUK: In London, England, Scotland, and Ireland until the invasion. On D-day plus one I landed in Normandy.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: What was your job?

Flight-Lieutenant PANCHUK: Intelligence with the R.C.A.F.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: You continued at that until when?

Flight-Lieutenant PANCHUK: Until three weeks ago.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: When did you return to Canada?

Flight-Lieutenant PANCHUK: I left Germany three weeks ago.

Hon. Mr. J. A. McDONALD: Were both your father and your mother Ukrainian?

Flight-Lieutenant PANCHUK: Yes. I would like to thank Senators Roebuck and Crerar for the excellent remarks they made in the Senate, which I read.

It is not my intention to deal with a long-term policy of immigration, as it was not our intention to urge a long-term policy during the war. We are quite prepared, and glad to leave these things to people much more fitted and capable to do them.

I only want to plead very briefly, the case of a people that I saw, that I met, and that I left as recently as three weeks ago. The case is not only important for them, not only urgent for them, but it is most important, and most urgent for us in Canada.

The CHAIRMAN: Could you give us the number of Ukrainian refugees in the camps?

Flight-Lieutenant PANCHUK: I would say it was estimated at between three hundred and five hundred thousands. I first met the Ukrainian refugees seven days after D-day. I was very fortunate in that I was one of the first Air Force officers on the beach—that includes both the Royal Air Force and the Royal Canadian Air Force. I was one of the first two officers—the other was a fellow-officer from Montreal, who landed on that beach. We were sent there to prepare the base from which our fighters flew. I was very fortunate in that I was serving with a Canadian wing, 126 Wing, which had the highest score of enemy aircraft destroyed in the war. The first refugees I met were mostly French, Belgian, and every type you can imagine. I was most amazed, it was something I never expected—that among those people were Ukrainians. They were people who had been evacuated by force by Germans to work in German factories, and in German bases all throughout the German occupied territory. At the very first opportunity they had they deserted, and joined the Free French Forces, and at the first opportunity they came across, and helped us. Months before we landed

there they helped to make arrangements for our landing. One of the most famous units that served with the Free French was Taras Shevchenko, which is now serving with the French Foreign Legion. The refugees were sent away to many places. Some were evacuated to England, and some were used in Army and Air Force units. Again it was my fortune to be able to speak Ukrainian and a little French in my dealings with the people. I was able to deal with them very closely. It was the same as we continued on our way up through Belgium and Holland and after we eventually crossed the Rhine on our R-day. It broke the hearts of all that saw the long streams of people pushing carts, pulling little wagons, and carrying their belongings—mothers, husbands, wives, and children—making a general exodus westward. When we asked them why they were moving, they tried to explain. Some could not, and some would not. They all felt that only by going westward could they reach the freedom and privileges they had all dreamed of, and which had been denied them. They were all hopeful of meeting the British forces, and the American forces, and I was very proud to hear them say that over and above everything else they wanted to meet the Canadians. Canada herself has built up a reputation unequalled in the world. No nation, with all due respect to England and the United States—no nation has ever exceeded the respect and prestige which Canada has there. No soldiers were treated better anywhere in the country—in France, in Holland, even in Germany—than were the Canadian soldiers, and I hope we treated them as well and were successful to some extent in justifying ourselves. It is only because of that I want to present their case.

I underline the subject not as a Canadian officer, but as a Canadian citizen who has been away from Canada for five years, and as a citizen who has come back to his country. I was born, raised, and expect to die in Canada. I expect my children will live here, and I want to try to do everything I can to make this country, and the country of my children, the best country in the world.

When I met the refugees I saw many hordes of struggling humanity coming along the road, and they often blocked our passage, often interfered with our military operations. We all felt one and the same thing—if there was only something we could do for them—if we could move them back into the wilderness of Canada, to open it up. They are willing to work. If there was only somewhere they could be set up and develop along the lines of freedom it would be worth while. It was my privilege to work with them, and to talk with them, and to learn what could be done, and what should be done, for them.

It was also my privilege to help the military government and UNNRA organize camps. This I did as a side-line when I was free from ordinary service duties. I was privileged in knowing two languages, and being able to talk to them. The first camp was at Wentorf near Hamburg. At Unterless there were forty Ukrainian girls. I was able to have conversation with them. Major Hodgkinson was the Military Commander in charge there. We said we were going to Belgium to celebrate Easter, and to sing our Ukrainian Easter carols and to carry on the celebration of Easter with a Ukrainian feast. They were amazed that such a thing was possible and that such a thing existed. It was the same story in all the camps in the British zone, and in the American zone.

I would like now to give you a brief picture of the camps as they are now. The camp at Heidenan, near Hamburg, had several Ukrainians. In six months they had organized fifteen institutions in the camp itself. It is a completely self-supporting unit. They have built a church—converted a barn into a church. They have built a beautiful theatre, organized a kindergarten for one hundred and twenty children, they have a high-school, and university for adult education. They are completely independent, and completely self-supporting, and, as all military people dealing with them know, they are a very industrious, and very

self-reliant people. It is not only my opinion, but the impression of other army people who were dealing with them. Major Shadwell, of the British Army was in charge of the camp at Kiel. One of my most treasured souvenirs of the war is a picture of the church built there. Those people did not know how long they would be there—a week, three weeks, six weeks, a month, or six months. The first thing they did was to build a church. On that church there is a beautiful cross made of glass with electric lights to illuminate it.

Hon. Mr. J. A. McDONALD: Is that a Greek church?

Flight-Lieutenant PANCHUK: Yes, a Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox church. This is a picture of the official opening of the church.

Another of my very valuable souvenirs is a little tag with the words "Ost". The Ukrainians in Germany were forced to wear these tags to distinguish them from the other slave labourers, because, in the German mind, they were not from the same political station.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: What does it mean?

Flight-Lieutenant PANCHUK: Easterner. It was the only identity that they were of the "lower" category, and did not belong to the ordinary German population. They were to wear them everywhere they went. If a German was inside a restaurant, they would have to immediately evacuate it. If they were in a restaurant, and a German came in, they would have to get up and leave. The girls continued to wear them, not knowing they were free to take them off. On one occasion when we said they did not have to wear them any more they replied that they did not understand.

Another very valuable souvenir I have from the camp at Kiel is a picture of a church, which they made from scrap of enemy aircraft shot down, and from pillaging U-boats. For the vestments of this church they used a rug from a U-boat. In order to put the cross on the vestments they used the gold braid of an officer's uniform. They had made candle-stick holders from butter tins and sardine tins—they have made everything of metal in the church out of empty tins received from UNRRA. A British lady, Countess Antrim, was managing a mobile hospital near Hamburg, and had from seventy to ninety per cent Ukrainian patients in the hospital. I might mention Captain Black from Montreal, who had eight Ukrainian girls working for him in the officers' mess. He is prepared to pay their passage, and establish them here in this country, if it can be done. I might also mention Mr. Fuller, a director of UNRRA, who is prepared to bring out ten or fifteen people to this country.

I could read an extract from a letter from a Canadian in UNRRA, who writes as a Canadian of British origin, and who was in charge of a camp of 2,000 people. He says that any country who has these people will be a really lucky country. We appreciate the fact that we need industrial workers, agricultural workers, domestic labourers, and people who can really fill in those places which are empty in Canada. If we do something to help these people enter Canada I think it would be an accomplishment worth while.

Many outstanding characteristics of these people struck me and my fellow service men from Canada who served on the continent and who met the refugees there. One outstanding characteristic was that they were all of the western mind; not only western minded, but looking westward as the only hope for their future. A second characteristic that we felt, which was most touching, was the fact that they were deeply religious. The first thing they wanted to do in every camp as soon as they got together was to organize a church service to hold their own meetings. They could build anything from practically nothing. If any of us had a breakdown with a car or jeep, as often happened, and we were obliged to wait some time before getting into our own military shop, we could take it in the D.P. camp and for two or three cigarettes they would have it done in a few hours. They could do practically anything required of them. For instance, this church which I mentioned in Kiel was built by their own hands

and their own contributions. It cost them 1,300 German marks and 300 Canadian cigarettes. They crave education, and in every camp I visited they asked me to get some books and newspapers, or do this or that. They would give a list of books that they wanted, such as books on the tanning of hides, fishing or lumbering, and many books that I myself—and I used to be a school teacher before I went into the service—had never heard of. They want books by such writers as Parker and other people I never heard of. They wanted everything possible to establish their schools. Even though they do not know where they are going or what is to happen to them they are most anxious to develop first the English language. If we only had handbooks to provide them with we would have a people, who even before they migrate, would be almost fluent in English.

An important feature is that the majority of the people there are young and without doubt they are the survival of the fittest; they are the people who have gone through various hardships and who have measured up to the demands and lived through them. The weaker morally and physically have fallen by the wayside at one place or another; but the people who have stuck it out, and who are still doing so regardless of what happened to them, are the physically and morally strong who can take care of themselves.

In addition to the labouring type, the agriculturist, the industrialist and the domestic worker, there are very many professionals; Professor Doroshenko who once toured Canada is amongst them. There are professors of universities, high school teachers, living in camps as ordinary D.P.'s; there are dignitaries of both churches, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church travelling as missionaries from camp to camp, ministering to the needs of the people.

In every camp the people are self-reliant. If they require shoes they have their own co-operative shoe repair shop to do it for them; if the pots need mending there is a co-operative pottery that will look after them. Their every effort is to fill the needs that we have not yet been able to supply through UNRRA or the military government.

They have started printing their own publications. They manage to beg, borrow—or scrounge, as we say in the service—everything they can to establish a printing press. I have among my souvenirs a sample of their newspaper printed in camp. It is the Easter edition of the "The Echo" published in a Ukrainian (stateless) D.P. Camp in Heidenan, Germany.

I do not think I could dwell too much on their industry and how they support and manage themselves. There is no end to the confirmation of this fact that can be received from any UNRRA people or the military government staffs who have to do with these people.

So as not to take up more of your time may I in conclusion briefly say that I feel very strongly, as every service man who served overseas, that Canada needs more men. Certainly our population is much too small. But in the selection of these immigrants we must always emphasize quality; we want men of integrity and with respect for themselves and others. Men who love their homes and country and who know their duty and strive to do it. I have no doubt we all agree that is the type of person we want. If we want such citizens they are at our disposal; if we do not take them, somebody else will. Thank you.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Chairman, we have heard a very splendid address, but the time is passing quickly. We have another delegation to hear. The gentlemen who have been addressing you come from Winnipeg; the next delegation comes from Toronto. Would Mr. Boychuk come forward and introduce his spokesman?

Mr. JOHN BOYCHUK: Mr. Chairman and honourable senators first of all I wish to thank the senators for the courtesy they have extended in hearing us today. We have three organizations here but have agreed that one spokesman will speak for all. I have brought along a short memorandum upon which we

have all agreed. Mr. Stephen Macievich is the editor of the "Ukrainian Life" in Canada; Mr. Peter Prokop is Secretary of the national executive of the association; Mr. Krentz is a member of the executive from Winnipeg; and Mr. Navis is a representative of the publishing company. I will now introduce Mr. Stephen Macievich.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: May I first ask Mr. Boychuk a question? Were you born in Canada?

Mr. BOYCHUK: No.

Mr. CRERAR: From what part of the Ukraine did you come?

Mr. BOYCHUK: Western Ukraine.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: When did you come to Canada?

Mr. BOYCHUK: 1913.

Mr. STEPHEN MACIEVICH: Mr. Chairman and honourable members, our brief is very short. It is submitted on behalf of the Association of Ukrainian Canadians, the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, The Workers' Benevolent Association and the newspaper "Ukrainian Life" by Peter Prokop, National Secretary, Association of Ukrainian Canadians, John Boychuk, National Secretary, Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, George Krentz, National Secretary, Workers' Benevolent Association, and John Navis, Manager, Canadian Ukrainian Publishing Company, and Stephen Macievich, Editor of "Ukrainian Life".

Brief submitted to the Senate Committee on Immigration on May 29, 1946, at Ottawa, on behalf of the Association of Ukrainian Canadians, the Ukrainian Labor-Farmer Temple Association, the Workers' Benevolent Association and the newspaper "Ukrainian Life" by Peter Prokop, National Secretary, Association of Ukrainian Canadians, John Boychuk, National Secretary, Ukrainian Labor-Farmer Temple Association, George Krentz, National Secretary, Workers' Benevolent Association, and John Navis, Manager, Canadian Ukrainian Publishing Company, and Stephen Macievich, Editor of "Ukrainian Life".

Canada is a land of immigration. Every great advance in our history was simultaneously a period of large-scale immigration. It was so when the original French immigrants settled the banks of the St. Lawrence, when the United Empire Loyalists populated the wilderness in Ontario and the Maritimes, when tides of immigrants from the British Isles filled in and helped to build up the "old" Canada of the east. And it was so, beginning with the 1890's, when waves of immigration from many lands—with the people we represent, the Ukrainians, playing a notable part—settled the western prairies and helped to build and man the industries of our country.

We firmly believe that, given the vision, purpose and planning, Canada can stand at the threshold of another great era of growth, a further expansion of our industries and agriculture, particularly in opening up and exploiting the great natural resources of our vast northland. Such a new advance would not only be favourable to, but will be impossible without the immigration of many thousands of new workers and farmers into Canada. We submit that the conditions for such a new era of development are: the maintenance of a stable peace in the world; friendly co-operation among the nations; Canadian diplomatic, commercial and credit policies to enable our country to play her full part in the restoration and lifting of the countries devastated by war and poverty; and finally, domestic policies directed towards expansion of Canadian economy on the basis of ever-rising living standards of the Canadian people.

We endorse the position adopted by the trades unions and other public bodies in Canada that no new tide of immigration be encouraged while our own people, and especially our service men and women, are not rehabilitated in

peacetime employment and occupations. We would view with alarm any measures that would make immigration not the corollary and basis of expansion of Canadian economy, but a means to create unemployment and to sharpen competition on the labour market and in the professions, whose only result would be to undermine the living standards of our people and bring detriment to the welfare of our country.

We deeply resent the opinion that has been expressed in some circles that Canada's immigration policy should be based on preferential treatment of certain racial or national groups (for example, those speaking "Nordic" languages). Discrimination along racial or national lines is abhorrent to all democratic-minded people. In so far as such proposals would discriminate against Ukrainians, we would proudly point to the 55 years of the fruitful contribution of our people in Canada to our country in every sphere of endeavour. Proposals for policies of national discrimination are an insult to the valiant Canadian warriors—including tens of thousands of Ukrainian Canadians—who fought in the war for the security of our country and to rid the world of "racism" and national hatreds.

Apart from the above statement of our views on the subject of immigration in general, we further wish to present some information and our opinions on the specific question of Ukrainian immigration as it stands at the present time.

1. There is little likelihood of any large-scale immigration from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic into Canada, apart from individual cases of relatives bringing over some of their kin to live with them. It is more likely that the opposite tendency will prevail in the coming months and years; the return of some Ukrainians from Canada to the Ukraine. Many letters received by Ukrainian Canadians from their relatives are urging them to return, and it is likely that from among those Ukrainians who came to Canada in the period between the two world wars, leaving their families behind, and who have not acquired Canadian citizenship, some will re-emigrate to the Ukraine.

2. The other source of possible Ukrainian immigration is to be found in the "displaced persons" camps, cared for by UNRRA, in various parts of Germany, Austria and Italy. These constitute some thousands (estimated at 14,000 to 15,000) of Ukrainians who have hitherto refused to be repatriated to their homeland after the millions of Ukrainian slave labourers, war prisoners and war refugees have already returned to the Ukraine. We urge the Canadian authorities to reject any proposal that immigration from this source be considered in terms of "asylum" for "political refugees" as wrong in fact and prejudicial to the interests of Canada.

3. This group of Ukrainian so-called "displaced persons" in Europe is constituted of roughly three categories: (1) war criminals; (2) former collaborators with German occupation authorities in the Ukraine; and (3) a small group of people who have been beguiled into believing that they can escape the hardships of post-war restoration in their war-shattered native land by emigrating to Canada.

4. This group is further characterized by the fact that there are very few workers or farmers among them—exactly those occupation categories most desired in immigration to Canada. They are nearly all professional politicians, lawyers, doctors, teachers, and even priests, who would not practise their professions in Canada, and some business men without capital, and students who have not finished their studies. We submit that immigration from these occupation groups would in all probability soon constitute a serious problem and possible burden to the state.

5. We urge the Canadian authorities not to permit entry into Canada of persons in the war criminals and German collaborators categories, people who served in the Gestapo, organized the Ukrainian S.S. Division "Galicia" as part of the German army and served the Hitler regime against their own people and the United Nations. We urge the Canadian authorities to reject the pleas that

these people be treated as "political refugees" in need of "asylum". We submit that to permit these people to come to Canada and to give the appearances that former war criminal and collaborationist records are viewed favourably by the authorities would create sharp discord and enmity within our country in general and the Ukrainian Canadians in particular.

6. We propose that this same rule be applied to the participants and partisans of the so-called "Ukrainian Rebellion Army", a band of terrorists still operating on a section of the border between the Ukraine, Poland and Czechoslovakia, burning villages, looting and massacring peaceful inhabitants. We urge categorical rejection of the claim being made that this band of fascists of many nationalities, led by escaped German officers, is a Ukrainian "patriot" army, and that its terrorist activities are "justified" because they presumably are hindering the amicable and peaceful solution of the national minorities problem between Poland and the Ukraine by the voluntary exchange of minority populations as agreed upon by the two states.

7. We further urge that the greatest caution be exercised in considering applications from Ukrainian would-be immigrants, lest war criminals and collaborationists gain entry into Canada under false pretences, change of name, falsification of records, donning the robes of priesthood, etc. As an example of such subterfuge, we will cite the case of one individual—and we have the documents—who has applied for immigration to Canada under the guise of "political" refuge. In the meantime, letters have been received in Canada from three different former fellow-townsmen of this individual, charging that he was responsible for submitting the list which resulted in the massacre of 28 people of Polish nationality in this town.

8. In considering applications on behalf of other than direct war criminals and collaborationists, we urge that claims that these be considered as "political refugees" be not allowed, since the government of the Ukraine has repeatedly extended amnesty to all with the exception of those who are directly on the war criminals list and who would be required to stand trial for their crimes.

9. We deeply deplore the propaganda which has been permitted in the "displaced persons" camps in Europe to influence them against repatriation to their homeland either by intimidation or by false promises that they would be brought over to the "green pastures" of Canada and the United States and avoid the hardships connected with reconstruction of the war-torn economy of their native land. We further suggest that people influenced by such considerations are hardly of the calibre required in Canada.

10. Finally, we urge that caution be exercised in considering these applications to avoid immigration under false pretences in regard to occupation qualifications as well. For example, we will cite a memorandum received in Canada from one such camp, where 73 persons, comprising teachers and other professionals and their families, also represent themselves as "farmers". We suggest that this latter definition was added solely as a means to gain entry into Canada of people who have neither the qualifications nor the intention to engage in agriculture.

To sum up: We are firmly of the opinion that immigration is desirable and beneficial to Canada's expansion and development, that it should be undertaken without racial or national discrimination, and planned in such a way as not to jeopardize employment of Canadians and rehabilitation of our servicemen. We further believe that the plea that Ukrainian "displaced persons" be admitted to Canada as "political refugees" be totally rejected, that admission be denied to war criminals and Nazi collaborationists, and that special care be taken that undesirables should not be admitted under false pretences.

The CHAIRMAN: Who is going to do the weeding out as between the good and the bad?

Mr. MACIEVICH: Well, there is a United Nations committee that has a Canadian delegation. I have some news clippings showing that the Canadian delegation states it is very hard to tell the sheep from the goats. It also urges that the committee looking into this thing should be very careful so that war criminals and Nazi collaborationists should not be recognized as political refugees.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Do you not believe it would be pretty hard for the Canadian government to make the choice the Chairman spoke of, without collaboration of the authorities in the countries from which the immigrants are supposed to come?

Mr. MACIEVICH: I believe it would be impossible for the Canadian government alone to determine that.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Then we must have the co-operation of the country from which the immigrant is coming.

Mr. MACIEVICH: That is correct.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: You have said whom we should not take in. Have you given us any information as to where we should get immigrants, and how, and who they should be?

Mr. MACIEVICH: In Europe there are a lot of people who would want to come to Canada. We certainly believe that from the Ukraine itself right now it would be impossible to get immigrants to come to Canada. There would be quite a few Ukrainians who have left their wives and children, have not seen them for fifteen years or more, who will go back to their country. A few immigrants might come from the Ukraine, but I do not think there would be many. Of course there are Frenchmen, Jugoslavs, Norwegians and so on who would come to Canada, not selected on the basis of nationality, but on the basis of those who want to come and are able to come.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: You do not think there would be much hope for Ukrainian immigration to Canada.

Mr. MACIEVICH: No, not right now.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: You spoke of a certain prejudice against immigrants who are not Nordics. Where has that prejudice been shown? I am simply asking for information.

Mr. MACIEVICH: There were some articles in magazines and newspapers. There was one in the *Free Press*, not exactly calling for discrimination against any particular people, but saying that Norwegians, Danes, Swedes and so on should be invited to come to Canada because they are more easily assimilated into Canadian life. That may be so, but as a Ukrainian I believe that is discrimination against me. The Ukrainians have done a very great work in helping to build up Canada, especially in the West, and they worked and fought for Canada during the war.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: You said that immigration was necessary for the development of our natural resources. By that do you mean the mines, the timber and so on? Seeing that the population of the cities exceeds the farming population, do you not believe that immigrants to this country should be farmers?

Mr. MACIEVICH: I believe that in the first place the immigration should be for the farms. There is of course the northland, where some could be put to work in developing the mines.

The CHAIRMAN: Am I to understand that you and those with you disagree almost entirely with the representations made to us this morning by Mr. Solomon and Flight Lieutenant Panchuk on behalf of the Ukrainian Canadian committee?

Mr. MACIEVICH: On the question of immigration to Canada in general, we do not disagree. Apparently we have the same view, that Canada needs immigrants for its development.

The CHAIRMAN: From the Ukraine?

Mr. MACIEVICH: Immigration from the Ukraine is a two-fold question. There cannot be immigration from the Ukraine itself, but only from what is called displaced persons camps in Germany and Italy. Some three or four million people, slave labourers, were driven by German occupationists into Germany to work during the war. Most of them have returned gladly when they were liberated by the American-British-Canadian Army. There are, they say, about 300,000 Ukrainians in those displaced camps. I maintain that among those people there are many that are hiding and actually are Ukrainians who were German collaborationists during the war. We completely reject any plea from our point of view that these people should be admitted to Canada—we reject their plea from the point of view of the safety of Canada.

The CHAIRMAN: The airman who spoke just before you has been home from Germany just three weeks. He painted a rather different picture of displaced persons in Germany who had been brought in there as slave labour. You disagree with him?

Mr. MACIEVICH: I disagree that they were slave labourers. There might have been some of them that went to Germany before the war, because at that time many emigrated to Germany to work there. But they are not the slave labourers, and in the meantime they have returned to their native land.

The CHAIRMAN: That airman, three weeks returned from Germany, does not agree with that view. Who is right?

Mr. MACIEVICH: I would say there were three million people slave labourers. Among them there were political refugees.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: You are making a distinction between slave labour and voluntary labour?

Mr. MACIEVICH: Definitely so. I make a distinction between slave labourers who have returned to the Ukraine, and those who voluntarily went to work for Germany or were collaborating with them during the war. In the main, if there are 300,000 Ukrainians in Germany yet, these people were collaborating with the Germans.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Flight-Lieutenant Panchuk gave rather a moving and, what I thought was an accurate picture of the condition he found in Germany and in countries west of Germany of those people who were moving westward and who love freedom and liberty, who built churches and endeavoured to educate themselves. Would you favour bringing those people to Canada?

Mr. MACIEVICH: Well, sir, it is like this, even German collaborationists go to church and are doing all sorts of work.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: In Germany the collaborationists wore the sign O.S.T. on their belts.

Mr. MACIEVICH: No, the German collaborationists did not have that sign, that is, the people from the east did not have it. Only the slave labourers, and in the first place those from the Ukraine, Russia and White Russia, did have that mark.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Have you been in Europe since the war?

Mr. MACIEVICH: No, I have not been in Europe.

The CHAIRMAN: Were you ever there?

Mr. MACIEVICH: Yes.

The CHAIRMAN: Were you born there?

Mr. MACIEVICH: Yes, I have been born in that part of the Ukraine which was formerly part of Rumania.

The CHAIRMAN: How old are you?

Mr. MACIEVICH: I am 37.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: I am bound to say to you as a witness that I prefer to take the judgment of the Flight-Lieutenant rather than your own. He was present and saw the conditions there.

Mr. MACIEVICH: I would not want to cast reflections on any of the members of the other delegation, but I would suggest that political considerations sometimes might be the basis of that appeal.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Sometimes political considerations are over-emphasized in certain ways.

Mr. MACIEVICH: True.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to know what is the political consideration presented in the views that you put before us now. It seems to me there is some politics behind it.

Mr. MACIEVICH: Not at all. I would want to say the following, that the Ukraine is the country of my people, my father and mother. My country is Canada.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Were you born here?

Mr. MACIEVICH: No; but my country is Canada. My wife and kids were born here.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: How long have you been here?

Mr. MACIEVICH: Since 1928. I want to state the following, sir, that the Ukraine country of my forefathers has undergone the most devastating war of any country in the world.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: I quite agree with you there.

Mr. MACIEVICH: It is in ruins. Many millions of people were driven to Germany. They came back without finding any homes, any schools. I will give you an example, sir. Here is a photostat of an appeal from seventy-three teachers. They are needed in their native land, not in Canada, because there are no Ukrainian schools in Canada. Those teachers instead of returning to their native land are clamouring to go out. Personally, I have no sympathy with the people who don't love their country and their people. That is the politices, if you want to regard it as such.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Do you believe in Canadian institutions, in our way of government?

Mr. MACIEVICH: I do.

The CHAIRMAN: You are representing the Toronto Ukrainian viewpoint?

Mr. MACIEVICH: No. I represent the viewpoint of the Association of Ukrainian Canadians, a national organization that has 14,000 members. Our farmer-labour association has 7,000 members.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Any others?

Mr. MACIEVICH: The Workers' Benefit Association, which has 8,000 members; *Ukrainian Life*, that has 15,000 subscribers and *Ukrainian Word*, published in Winnipeg, which has 12,000 subscribers.

Hon. Mr. ASELTINE: Are these organizations which you represent communistic?

Mr. MACIEVICH: They are not communistic, they are labour-farmer organizations that in the main are in sympathy towards the Ukraine, and not inimical as some of the viewpoints of other people here in Canada and also among the displaced persons in Europe.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Are they anti-capital?

Mr. MACIEVICH: Our organizations are not political; in the main they are cultural. If they belong to the trade unions I don't know what their viewpoint may be.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Are they in favour of private initiative as against government operation and control?

Mr. MACIEVICH: If you ask me personally that question, I would say yes. If you ask what is the viewpoint of the members of the organizations, I would say I don't know, because all sorts of members belong to that organization.

The CHAIRMAN: How long have you been editor of *Ukrainian Life*?

Mr. MACIEVICH: Since 1940.

The CHAIRMAN: What is the policy of *Ukrainian Life*?

Mr. MACIEVICH: The policy of *Ukrainian Life* is first to build in Canada culturally among our own people. Secondly, to explain to our own people in the Ukraine the people in Canada through their readers and so forth. You have got to understand that immigrants into Canada were from Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia. Now the Ukraine is united. All those states that belonged to other countries before are in one state to-day, the Ukraine Socialist Republic.

The CHAIRMAN: Which is partly Russian and partly Polish.

Mr. MACIEVICH: No. The state of the Ukraine is completely Ukrainian. It has, I would say, now probably 40,000,000 people. There were about 3,000,000 killed during the war, and many were maimed and crippled, but still the population of the state of the Ukraine is probably about 40,000,000. That is a big nation. That is an independent state which is in alliance with White Russia.

Hon. J. A. McDONALD: I understand there are over 300,000 Ukrainians in Canada. What percentage of that body do you officially, privately or publicly represent?

Mr. MACIEVICH: I represent the organizations stated in the brief. The organization of Ukrainian Canadians, which is a cultural organization.

Hon. J. A. McDONALD: About how many do you number?

Mr. MACIEVICH: I could not state, but I would say about 60,000 adults belong to our organizations or read our papers.

The CHAIRMAN: Well, old-timer, I don't know whether I am dense, but I really cannot understand what you are driving at.

Mr. MACIEVICH: I am driving first and above all to this point, that no Nazi collaborators or war criminals be admitted under any pretences, false or otherwise, into Canada.

The CHAIRMAN: Who is going to be the judge?

Mr. MACIEVICH: I don't know. I think the Canadian authorities should get in touch with the countries those immigrants come from and establish if they are not criminals and Nazi collaborators.

The CHAIRMAN: Do you believe in conversion and reformation?

Mr. MACIEVICH: Yes. I am not intolerant and I don't think our organization is intolerant, but I believe war criminals who killed people should be punished.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: May I ask you this question, because the work of this committee is very important. Did you support Canada's effort in the war in the first year or two?

Mr. MACIEVICH: Yes. I am sorry I was sick in 1939 and 1940 with typhoid fever. I am a member of the organization that did take part in that effort.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Are you a member of the farmer-labour organization?

Mr. MACIEVICH: The national secretary of that organization, Mr. Boychuk and Mr. Prokop, will probably explain to you the actual work of the organization.

The CHAIRMAN: But you have made a case, as I understand it, against the further entry of Ukrainians into Canada; is that right?

Mr. MACIEVICH: That is not quite correct, sir. My point is the following, if there are anywhere in Europe Ukrainians who have no war criminal record but want to come to Canada and don't want to return to their native country, I think their case should be taken into consideration; but I would suggest that those that do apply for entry into Canada should be very well scrutinized, because, believe it or not, sirs, thousands upon thousands of them did dirty work for the Germans.

Hon. Mr. ASELTINE: How about all these women and girls you have spoken about?

Mr. MACIEVICH: Probably the families of those people would be with them.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: What about the children running loose?

Mr. MACIEVICH: Could Canada take children alone without parents? We are not opposed to that.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: You are opposed to that?

Mr. MACIEVICH: No, we are not. We are not opposed to Ukrainian immigration if the Canadian authorities want to take the children, but we are definitely opposed against any war criminals or Nazi collaborators who have done tremendous damage in their own country coming into Canada under some mask of pretences saying they are not war criminals and so on.

Hon. Mr. J. A. McDONALD: Your paper supported the Labour-Progressive party?

Mr. MACIEVICH: Our paper supported trade union.

Hon. Mr. J. A. McDONALD: I think I saw in some issue, or heard that you supported—I am not saying it is wrong or right—but I understand your paper supported the Labour-Progressive party.

Mr. MACIEVICH: I am sorry. We supported the election of Prime Minister King. We have supported the election of members—McIvor—and also supported Mr. Martin in Windsor. We did support the C.C.F. and trade union. We are not choosy as to parties, but as to members who represent the constituency.

The CHAIRMAN: In other words, you are like the rest of humanity, and sort of drift with the wind?

Mr. MACIEVICH: I would not say that. We try to see that the best man is elected. We supported the Prime Minister in his election.

Hon. Mr. ASELTINE: You did not support the Progressive-Conservative party?

Mr. MACIEVICH: I don't know. I don't think so.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: As you know Russia insists that all Russians, white Russians or Russians, who are to-day in occupied countries be sent back to Russia, and, therefore, Russia insists that Ukrainians be sent back to the Ukraine. We know that the Ukraine will not allow immigration. Where are we standing?

Mr. MACIEVICH: On the question of the Ukraine, we are not standing on anything very positive. What did you want as an answer?

The CHAIRMAN: I will tell you what we would like as an answer. We would like to know what is in the back of your mind, and in the minds of those for whom you speak. There seems to be some particular influence that this Committee has not been given the benefit of, I think.

Mr. MACIEVICH: I think we have been very explicit in our brief. We have been very specific that we are against criminals and collaborators in Canada—against allowing any people who have worked with the Germans against the United Nations in this war.

The CHAIRMAN: You do not agree with Flight-Lieutenant Panchuk who just left Germany three weeks ago? You do not agree with his views of displaced persons he found in Germany?

Mr. MACIEVICH: I could not say I disagree in some cases. I say we might allow in people who have carried propaganda, and a sort of slander against their own people. In this case Flight-Lieutenant Panchuk has been there, and has talked to them. It is not likely they would state they were criminals, or had not been collaborators. That is what they may have been telling him. That would not be their intention if they were trying to enter Canada.

Hon. Mr. BLAIS: I want to ask you one question? I wish you to answer frankly. Frankly I do not want to see people who are Nazi collaborators, and who have participated in Nazi crimes admitted to Canada. We are agreed on that. But do you not think there is quite a considerable number of Ukrainians in Europe amongst the displaced people who left Russia to escape the conditions of government in Russia which they did not like? Would you admit those to Canada?

Mr. MACIEVICH: Right. We have admitted that in the brief. We are only against the admission of war criminals who are hiding behind political views to gain entry into Canada.

Hon. Mr. BLACK: Then the accuracy of your statements that all displaced personnel described to you as largely collaborators or war criminals is not so?

Mr. MACIEVICH: We state there were three categories of displaced persons. There is the war criminal, former collaborators, and people who were beguiled by orders or intimidation not to return to their native land. There are three groups in Europe, and the Canadian authorities must consider the application of these people. They should not allow the war criminals to come in amongst them.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Mr. Chairman, we would like to hear from Father Kushnir and Father Sawchuk before we adjourn, and it is twenty-three minutes to one.

Hon. Mr. J. A. McDONALD: I would like to know if it is your dislike for these people, or your love for Canada, that is guiding you? What is your definite statement on that question?

Mr. MACIEVICH: My love for Canada.

Hon. Mr. BLACK: Do you think that all the people who do not want to go to the Ukraine are collaborators with the Nazis?

Mr. MACIEVICH: I didn't say that.

Hon. Mr. BLACK: Perhaps not, but you left that impression.

Mr. MACIEVICH: There are three categories of displaced persons—war criminals, collaborators, and those who were beguiled by orders or intimidation not to return to their native land.

The CHAIRMAN: You think they all ought to go back to the Ukraine?

Mr. MACIEVICH: I think the war criminals should be returned, and be made answer for their crimes.

Hon. Mr. J. A. McDONALD: You stated you represented labour. Which is it the American Federation of Labour or the Canadian Congress of Labour?

Mr. MACIEVICH: No organized agent of labour—the worker and the farmer.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: I heard you belonged either to the American Federation of Labour or the Canadian Congress of Labour.

Mr. MACIEVICH: It is not a trade union.

The CHAIRMAN: Father Kushnir, you have just heard Mr. Macievich. What do you say to that?

Rev. KUSHNIR: I just returned from Europe on the 4th of May. I have been abroad for four months travelling about Europe. I have been in both zones—the British and American. I have been in all of the camps, and I have had long discussions with the people, and know exactly what is a cross-section of the people. I met all the authorities—British and American—and there was nothing evident about the collaborationists.

I was able to learn something of the Ukrainian people in Germany. The British and American authorities, and the people of UNRRA, and those supervising the camps are prepared to accept these people. I saw these people personally. I have been in Europe for four months.

I have been in Italy, France, and Belgium—and I do not see any reason—any substance for labelling displaced persons as collaborationists or naming them as Nazi war criminals, or something like that. I investigated these accusations myself in many cases.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Of course, you agree with the previous speaker that we do not want to introduce into Canada war criminals, but you disagree with these facts.

Rev. KUSHNIR: Yes, I disagree with the facts. That is a completely false conclusion. It is not only my opinion, but that of all the people who are in the immediate contact with the situation in Europe.

Hon. Mr. BLACK: How do we stand in Canada with Russia insisting that all Ukrainians outside of Russia go back to Russia and the Ukraine, and the Ukraine refuses to send immigrants out? How do we stand as far as Ukrainian immigrants are concerned? You know that Russia insists that they go back to the Ukraine?

Rev. KUSHNIR: I know that.

Hon. Mr. BLACK: The former witness outlined that they would not allow any immigration out to this country. How do we stand?

Rev. KUSHNIR: We in Canada?

Hon. Mr. BLACK: Yes, in Canada.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: It has been proposed to get immigration from the displaced persons.

The CHAIRMAN: What are the displaced persons generally?

Rev. KUSHNIR: Labourers, mostly. There is no more than two per cent intelligentsia in the British zone, and no more than ten per cent in the American zone.

The CHAIRMAN: You do not agree necessarily that they are all professional politicians, lawyers, doctors, teachers, judges, even priests?

Rev. KUSHNIR: That is completely false. There is no more than two per cent intelligentsia in the British zone, and in the American zone from nine to ten per cent intelligentsia. In some of the camps there are four thousand people who are in actual need of intellectual people. I completely disagree with that statement.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: You mean that he is misinformed?

Father KUSHNIR: Yes, in the British zone there is no more than 2 per cent intellectuals, and we have over 100,000 displaced Ukrainian persons in that zone.

The CHAIRMAN: Would it be unfair, Father Kushnir, for the Chairman of this committee to ask you as an experienced gentleman dealing with Ukrainians this question; what is the underlying cause of the difference of opinions or aims as between the views expressed by the first delegates we heard and this statement made by Mr. Macievich?

Father KUSHNIR: In my opinion the underlying difficulty is the policy of official Russia; the underlying policy is the policy of the Soviet government.

The CHAIRMAN: Communist inspired.

Father KUSHNIR: That is my opinion.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: It would have the effect of discouraging immigration?

Father KUSHNIR: That is right. Nobody intimated to the people in the camps in Europe not to immigrate, but the people have been forced by the Soviet Military Mission—

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Mr. Chairman, might I ask this question? Are those people former soldiers?

Father KUSHNIR: No, they are not.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: The majority were labourers.

Father KUSHNIR: Forced labourers.

The CHAIRMAN: They were forced out of Russia in the first months of the war.

Father KUSHNIR: Most of the people experienced the Soviet invasion in 1939, in the Western Ukraine, and they know what the situation was at that time; naturally, having had this experience they wanted to leave it flat, after the collapse of Germany.

Hon. J. A. McDONALD: Were your figures correct when you said the other gentleman represented 60,000 and you represented the balance of 240,000?

Father KUSHNIR: I do not think so. We represent both churches and they do not represent any church.

Hon. J. A. McDONALD: How would you put the figures then?

Father KUSHNIR: That is rather hard to say. They are subscribers to the paper; I think that figure is double.

Hon. J. A. McDONALD: I wish to find out how strong this other movement was?

Father KUSHNIR: It is very hard to say, especially after 1940; after 1940 there was a new organization and new names.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: What would you calculate the percentage to be over which the two churches have some jurisdiction or supervision?

Father KUSHNIR: I think at least 90 or 95 per cent.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: You would say 95 per cent?

Father KUSHNIR: Yes.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Therefore the other group would only represent 5 per cent?

Father KUSHNIR: Not more than that.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Father Kushnir.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: We might now hear Reverend Sawchuk.

Reverend S. W. SAWCHUK: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee—

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: May I ask you first whether you were born in Canada?

Reverend SAWCHUK: No sir, I emigrated to Canada when I was three years old.

The CHAIRMAN: You are almost a native.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: From what part of the Ukraine did you come?

Reverend SAWCHUK: From Western Ukraine which was before the war under Poland.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: What position do you hold?

Reverend SAWCHUK: I am now administrator of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: You served in the war?

Reverend SAWCHUK: I did sir; I served as a Chaplain for your years and I had a little less than a year's service overseas.

I do not think I can add very much to what has been said by Mr. Solomon and Flight-Lieutenant Panchuk and Father Kushnir. I believe that they have covered the field very well. I listened to the remarks of the second delegation with great interest. I recognized the voice—although under a different name—and it appeared to me at times that the question was, just what is the policy the representations here? I would not want to make any statement, but I believe personally that that represents the official stand of the Soviet Government, that no person who was under the Soviet rule at any time, whether previous to the war or during 1939 should remain outside the Soviet border. The reason for that attitude is quite obvious. Many of those displaced persons have never been Soviet subjects; most of them, as I understand, have come from Western Ukraine, and were Polish citizens, politically speaking, before 1939, and they tasted the Soviet rule in 1939 when Poland was divided by the Soviet Republic and Germany.

As an instance why these people do not want to go back I might cite the example of the church question. In Western Ukraine the Galicia province is predominantly Greek Catholic, the faith of Father Dr. Kushnir; the northern part of Western Ukraine is Greek Orthodox, and that is my faith. Since the Western Ukraine became part of the Soviet Republic, the Greek Catholic Church has been really disbanded by Soviet decree; perhaps not directly, but by certain well-established methods. To-day the Greek Catholic Church in Western Ukraine has no freedom, the people are not allowed to worship their God as they want to, the Greek Catholic bishops have been arrested and deported; instead the official Russian Greek Orthodox Church has been established there.

I speak as an Orthodox minister myself, but also as a Canadian, and as a man who believes in the freedom of worship; as a man who with all Canadians have tried our best to defend the principles of freedom and democracy so dear to us. I cannot agree with the conditions where people have to think and say what they are told, and to worship God as they are told. I believe that people like Flight-Lieutenant Panchuk, and thousands of Canadian service men of Ukrainian extraction, believe and have the same opinion about the displaced persons and the Ukraine question as a whole, as expressed by Flight-Lieutenant Panchuk. In the eyes of some even our Canadian citizens probably would be classified as collaborationists. I do not think I should go into that question, because, as Mr. Solomon said in his brief, we are against war criminals and we hold no brief for any man who has been a collaborationist, but rather for the freedom-loving people who for one reason or another, whether on account of religious beliefs or their political views, are democratically inclined. If those people do not want to go back to their native land they should be given an opportunity to migrate where they could get a little work and bring up their families in the freedom and in the democratic way.

The CHAIRMAN: You do not agree with this statement that the displaced persons are nearly all professional politicians, lawyers, doctors, teachers and even priests?

Reverend SAWCHUK: Yes, there are even priests among them.

The CHAIRMAN: But you do not agree that they are nearly all of such professions?

Reverend SAWCHUK: Definitely not; there is a small percentage of educationalists and a small percentage of intellectuals. Predominantly they are farmers and labourers.

The CHAIRMAN: Reverend Sawchuk, we are very much indebted to you and to those who have come from the city of Winnipeg to appear before us.

Mr. HLYNKA: Might the committee spare a minute to Flight Lieutenant Panchuk to explain the question of the so-called SS troops used in the promotion of propaganda?

The CHAIRMAN: Yes, of course.

Flight Lieutenant PANCHUK: At one time our wings, 126 wings, was stationed only six miles from the concentration camp of Belsen. Flight Lieutenant Berger, of Montreal Squadron Leader Field, who was the equipment officer of our wings, and myself organized a relief unit for Belsen. We took medical supplies and food from parcels from Canada to Belsen for people of whom you have heard, and of whom you have read. I found, much to my surprise, something I didn't expect—something I didn't know existed. There was at least thirty per cent of the prisoners in Belsen, Ukrainians. Kosarenko-Kosarewych, the writer, was a prisoner of war there, and at the time I saw him he weighed forty pounds. He is one of those I would recommend to come here. He is now one of the D.P.s. in Hamburg. I personally saw Kosarenko-Kosarewych in Hamburg, and I left him all the parcels I had received from Canada, so he would have something to eat while convalescing there.

There is one other argument often presented with which I am not in agreement, that of the SS division. That division is not an SS division but is the Ukrainian Straight Shooter division. That division is in the camp at Rimini, and there are about ten thousand in the division. They are known to the British authorities, the British Foreign Office, the British War Office, and the British Provost Corps. Those people are not even considered by the British as SEP, which means surrendered enemy personnel, even though they marched one hundred and fifty miles to lay down their arms before our present Governor General. That is a division which has never been in the SS, never served in the SS, and one certain truth of that is that every man serving in the German army, in the SS, had a tatoo under the left arm. Our Intelligence and the American C.I.C., who are I think, as good an authority as can be found on that, knows about that. I think the British Intelligence, the British Provost Corps, and the American C.I.C., are as good as an authority, if not better than the people in Canada who have not been overseas. This division has never been in the SS, never served in the SS, and if you wish information about that, it is known to the British Foreign Office and the British War Office. The British government generally knows about it.

The CHAIRMAN: You can give us a soldier's statement on this point. Are the displaced people in Germany nearly all professional politicians, lawyers, doctors, teachers—even priests?

Flight Lieutenant PANCHUK: There are very few intellectuals in Germany at the present time. The people served me dinner in the officer's mess, scrubbed floors, and served me as a batman.

The CHAIRMAN: I take it then that they were forced into Germany originally as slave labour?

Mr. MACIEVICH: Mr. Chairman, there are just two points. The question has been asked about professional politicians, lawyers, doctors, teachers—even priests, and further on businessmen. Also students who have not finished their studies. I have here a photostatic list taken from one single camp that is under American authority. Of the seventy-three names on the list of people there are many teachers—further on professors—teachers, businessmen, bookkeepers, students, teachers—all the way through. There are only four that classify themselves as farmers. Many of those who are teachers and professors state they also could be tailors. This list contains the names of the whole seventy-three.

Here is an appeal on the question of the SS division, Galicia, and we hear that there were fifteen thousand SS Ukrainian members of that division

organized by Ukrainian Committee under German command. It was smashed in the Western Ukraine, reorganized later, and sent into Austria where they were captured. To-day they are in Italy. From what we hear they are members of the SS division of Ukrainian people. That is not stated by ourselves, but by themselves.

The CHAIRMAN: I want to thank you, Mr. Macievich for appearing before us in this Committee.

The Committee adjourned at 1.10 p.m.

APPENDIX

Brief on Immigration submitted to the Senate Committee on Immigration and Labour, by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 701 McIntyre Bldg., Winnipeg, Manitoba, May 29, 1946.

Immigration and National Security

The perennial question of immigration has always been a matter of great importance to a young and expanding country like Canada, but never has it loomed so large as at present time.

The aftermath of the Second Great World War has disclosed a situation that never existed before, at least not in the same degree. Fear of foreign invasion prevails throughout the world, and the various nations passionately and even deliriously seek means of greater security.

Countries with vast unpopulated areas consider immigration a solution to this problem. The Commonwealth of Australia has lost no time in announcing a policy on immigration and a commission already is busy in Europe soliciting settlers to that continent.

Events of the last Great World War have convinced Australia of the folly of trying to maintain and defend huge territories with limited man power. Living in the midst of a vast and restless mass of potential aggressors our Antipodean fellow members of the British Commonwealth of Nations believe their safety lies in greater numbers or in greater population.

The same principles which underlie Australian policy apply even more strongly to the Dominion of Canada. We are richer in actual and potential resources and occupy a position in world trade out of all proportion to our population. And as possessors of the world's chief uranium fields we are bound to be coveted more and more by future aggressors. For us, therefore, there can be little security or prosperity without a very substantial increase in population.

The Resources and Population of Canada

But to date Canada has not yet announced a policy on immigration. Prior to and during the last war immigration to this country was practically negligible. With the exception of a small trickle of refugees the doors of this Dominion were hermetically sealed to further entry. But changing circumstances rising out of this recent war make immigration to this country essential and necessary.

The discovery of the atomic bomb has not only brought about changes in the fortunes of war but it is bound to cause a revolution in the industrial field. A great and wealthy country like Canada cannot escape its destiny as a leading trading and commercial nation, nor can it control that destiny successfully with insufficient numbers. Canada needs more population, but she can not obtain it by natural growth alone without resort to extraneous means, i.e., immigration.

Like Australia Canada is one of the last great countries of vast open spaces capable of settling many times more people than the number occupying her territories at the present time. It is thus not so much a question of finding room for prospective settlers as it is one of policy.

So far this policy has limited immigration to the minimum with concentration on rehabilitation and establishment of service men and women in preference to admission of aliens. No one will quarrel with the laudable object of helping ex-soldiers get back into civilian life in some gainful employment; but when this goal shall have been achieved there surely should be enough room for many others to be brought in as well.

Purpose of this Brief—Admission of Ukrainian Immigrant

It is not the purpose of this brief to try to influence the Government of Canada in formulating a policy, but it is rather an appeal to the Government to allow a certain element into the country once that policy is declared in favour of more immigration.

In an expanding country like Canada there is great need for the pioneering type of immigrant. The Ukrainian possesses this quality in high degree. His whole history has been one of settlement and resettlement, due to numerous Tartar and other invasions. Forced by circumstances to take up new pursuits, or else the same pursuits in different surroundings, this dweller of the Steppe had developed initiative and adaptability of no mean order. Pre-eminently an agriculturist he has taken much to city life. A tiller of the soil from time immemorial he has chosen farming from genuine love of the land; and there is no doubt that this would be the field of endeavour towards which he would gravitate if admitted to Canada. The similarity of the Ukrainian Steppe to the Canadian Prairie would make it quite easy to acclimatize himself to conditions over here, for the change would be merely one of place and not method. But even if things over here were different it would not be a hindrance to a settler whose whole life history has been one continual struggle with and victory over great obstacles.

Laurier regime and the Ukrainian Immigrants

When the Laurier regime opened up the gates of Canada to immigration at the end of the nineteenth century the intention was to bring in as many settlers as possible as would fit in with conditions in Canada. And so after combing Europe for the desired type it was only natural that the Ukrainian amongst others would be chosen as being best fitted for settlement on Canadian soil.

Subsequent events have shown and proved the wisdom of the government in this matter. For measured by any standard whatsoever the Ukrainian has not only fulfilled all expectations but in some cases has exceeded them.

Mr. Syrotuck, Senior Fieldman, Reviews the Ukrainian

"When one considers", writes Mr. Michael Syrotuck, Senior Fieldman, Live Stock and Poultry, Department of Agriculture, "the days when the first Ukrainians came to Canada with no knowledge of the language, with nothing in their pockets but the price of a homestead entry fee, with no personal possessions but those contained in a knapsack strapped to their backs, with no buildings, no fencing, and no land under cultivation, it is little short of marvellous how well they have done for themselves since that time. To-day the West is literally studded with farms of the most modern type owned by those former immigrants. And in many parts of the country much land that was considered unfit for cultivation has been turned to productive use by these persevering and thrifty settlers. Most decidedly the Ukrainians have proved to be a most constructive element in Canada, adding greatly to the wealth of this country."

The author of the aforementioned statement is himself the son of a Ukrainian immigrant, a graduate in agriculture, and a former officer in the Canadian Army with the rank of major.

Illiteracy of Ukrainian Immigrant

In the early days of Canadian immigration much had been made of the so-called illiteracy of the early Ukrainian immigrant. But little attention has been paid to his latent and natural intelligence. The first batch of Ukrainian immigrants was recruited from the poorest classes, land-hungry peasants, who

never had a chance to go to school. But they were intelligent peasants nevertheless; for they had to be to get along as well as they did. The test of a man is what he does with the means at his disposal; and most certainly those people did much with so little. While they may have been illiterate themselves, yet they were intelligent enough to see to it that their children got an adequate education. One to-day could point out hundreds of cases where children of so-called illiterate parents attained the highest degree of education, in many instances with the highest distinction. To-day honour students are no longer a rarity among Ukrainians but a frequency.

Mr. Hawryluk Reports on Ukrainian Progress

Mr. F. T. Hawryluk, B.A., Superintendent of Schools, Nipawin, Sask., himself a son of a former immigrant, comments as follows on this matter:

"It is not necessary to elaborate on the low educational standards of these immigrants when they came to Canada, their economic poverty, the language handicap and the severity of the pioneering conditions. These facts are well known and duly appreciated.

"The outstanding characteristics of these people are their eagerness to take full advantage of educational opportunities in Canada and their willingness to supplement these facilities through their own efforts, very frequently at a considerable sacrifice. As an example of this effort we have several educational institutes, Student Homes, hundreds of community halls, Literary Societies and educational centres in Western Canada.

"Their contribution to the teaching profession is an amazing record which gives some indication of the general level of educational uplift of the Ukrainians in Western Canada during the past forty years. In 1906 a small group of young men were trained for Public School teachers. In 1936, I made a detailed survey of fully qualified teachers, in the three Western Provinces and, at that time, the figure was 830. I have not compiled any more statistics since then but I feel certain that this figure could be doubled in 1946.

"In the field of higher education the rate of progress is no less spectacular when we consider that in 1913 the first and only one Ukrainian graduated from the University of Manitoba. Ten years later, in 1923, there were already 25 university graduates from the three prairie universities. The last census I made was in 1934; it listed 167 university graduates. I have no figures since 1934, but during the academic year 1934-1935 alone, there were 198 university students registered in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. This constant increase in higher education continued even through the depression years and up to the beginning of the Second War.

"As may be expected, a large percentage of the university graduates followed specialized fields and professions such as medicine, law, agriculture and engineering. Several of these have won distinctions and have been appointed university professors, such as Mr. Pawlichenko, one of Canada's best authorities on weeds. The percentage employed in the civil service is relatively small, but there are already nine or ten agricultural representatives, six inspectors of schools and a number of smaller officials in the various departments."

Mr. Bodnar Cites A Typical Case—The Ogryzlo Family

Mr. Theodore Bodnar, District Agriculturist, Dauphin, Manitoba, in a survey of farming conditions in Manitoba amongst many other interesting things supplies the following life story of one; Stefan Ogryzlo, who migrated to the Sifton, Manitoba, District from Western Ukraine, in 1897.

"This man," says Mr. Bodnar, "came to this district with his wife and five children with barely enough to pay the filing fee on his homestead. Five years later the father, Stefan, died, and so Peter, the eldest son, took over as head of

the family. At 21 years of age he decided to learn the English language and so went through the various stages of education until he got a teacher's certificate. . . He taught school for 6 years, was a municipal councillor for 6 years, a clerk in the Dominion Land Office at Dauphin, Manitoba, for some time, and then wound up his career as a fish exporter at Winnipegosis, and then as a general store keeper at Fork River. Peter's family consists of wife, 3 boys and 3 girls.

"Peter's eldest son now resides at Kirkland Lake, Ont., where he is employed as a mining engineer, having graduated with a mining engineer degree and Ph.D.

"Lawrence Ogryzlo, 33 years of age, graduated with a M.Sc. degree and is also an engineer at the Flin Flon Mines in Manitoba.

"Metro Ogryzlo, aged 30, graduated in medicine, winning a scholarship. While taking up post-graduate work on his scholarship war was declared and Metro immediately joined the Air Force.

"Jean Ogryzlo graduated in Arts, then taught school, and finally married a lawyer, a Ukrainian.

"Olga Ogryzlo also graduated in Arts, married a Sifton business man, and is now assistant principal in the Sifton High School.

"Helen Ogryzlo graduated in Arts this Spring.

Commentary on This Typical Case

As a commentary on this short life history the most eloquent thing one might say is that this is not bad for an illiterate immigrant. For Peter's case is a living example of the truth that a man may be intelligent although illiterate, with enough character to overcome that illiteracy.

Intelligent Minds—Stout Hearts—Willing Hands

The case of the Ogryzlo Family is only one of many examples that could be cited in illustration of the economic and educational progress of our immigrants. They can be found in practically every community—the Potockis, the Kostashes, the Sirnyks, and so on. And in almost every case these families started life under the most adverse circumstances with nothing but stout hearts, intelligent minds and willing hands to bank on. They were recruited from the poorest and most illiterate classes who never owned more than two or three acres of land nor saw the inside of a school room, and yet from this so-called lower strata of society a type of pioneer was chosen that has helped enrich this country beyond the fondest dreams of even those who first brought them in.

Failure to Discern Sound Common Sense of Immigrant

When these immigrants first came to Canada they could easily be distinguished by their sheepskin coats, top boots and shawls, and many doubts were expressed that any good could come out of such strange-looking individuals. But the average citizen failed to discern the sound common sense of the folk wearing this odd garb. This virtue was completely lost sight of in the maze of conflicting emotions stirred up in our native-born residents by the picture of this seemingly never ending panorama of aliens. And so they were variously described as unsanitary, ignorant, undesirable and lawless.

Surface Observations Fail to Note Actual Progress

But these were merely surface observations, evoked emotionally by the bizarre appearance of our aliens; but actually these vituperative adjectives had no basis in fact. For a visit to the average Ukrainian home will show how meticulously clean they are; and a study of the Public School, High School, College and University Records will prove their high mental standard; while a glimpse of the cultural and educational life of this country will disclose hundreds

of teachers, professors, doctors, lawyers, dentists, agriculturalists, and other professional men and women. And they are not without their scientists, their tradesmen, their mechanics and their salesmen.

Maurice Hindus and the Ukrainian

Many prominent writers have paid special tribute to the cleanliness of the Ukrainian peasant. In his book, "Humanity Up-rooted", Maurice Hindus waxes eloquent on the neatness of the Ukrainian farmstead.

"Even the poorest peasants wear white linen blouses with splashes of red embroidery on collars, cuffs, and bosom, and women flaunt home-spun skirts and roomy waists with loose sleeves lying in folds, like swathes of freshly mowed grass, and likewise splashed with embroidery. Here the speech is tuneful, the manner suave, the hospitality hearty and majestic;—As we entered the house we marvelled once again at the cleanliness of the Ukrainian peasant. The clean swept cottage was freshly white-washed inside, and its windows were darkened with cloth to keep out the flies—A glorious land the Ukraine is rich in colour and substance and famed in song and legend for its wit and ardour, its stalwart men and its pretty women—with those sharp, luminous eyes for which the Ukrainians are noted, eyes that reveal much and conceal more—No people in Russia speak with so melodious an intonation as the Ukrainian, or dance with so sprightly abandon, or laugh with such gay heartiness. They love fun and play, and the Ukrainian DIADKO (Uncle) is an incomparable host. Food and drink, if he has it, he will heap up before the visitor, and how he will sulk if his hospitality is not accepted to the utmost limits of one's appetite. No wonder Russian writers from Gogol to Gorky have written of the Ukraine with such rapture."

Hon. Mr. Crerar, Senator, Wants More Immigration

Coming from one of the World's most prominent writers, the aforementioned eulogy would suggest that the Ukrainian is far from unsanitary; and as far as being ignorant and undesirable we will let Hon. Mr. Crerar, Senator, answer that charge. Speaking in the Senate on the motion of Hon. Mr. Roebuck, re Immigration, May 8, 1946, among other things he said:

"The Ukrainians have greatly contributed to the development of the West—When they first came to Canada, some forty or more years ago, they had very little capital. I know of one community where they settled. They got their homesteads, 160 acres of land—not very good land—and they built mud cabins in which they had mud ovens for cooking their food. They worked diligently at whatever they could find to do, and saved their earnings. In that district to-day you find good farms, good roads, good houses, goo barns, and all the other attributes of a very fine community. The Ukrainian pioneers who came to this country wore sheepskin coats, were completely ignorant of our language, and had no money in their pockets; but their children, or grandchildren are not only in business and in the professions, but are serving as members of municipal councils and of legislatures, and in every way are taking a full part in the life of the community. Besides doing that these groups have made a very definite contribution to the cultural life of not only the communities in which they live but of the Dominion as a whole."

This is not the observation of an ordinary man, but rather that which comes from one of great experience. As a former president of the United Grain Growers and Minister of Railways he had ample opportunity to study the progress made by these immigrants and evaluating it in the light of that experience. Taking a broad view of the matter he does not allow a sheepskin coat to obscure his vision or pervert his judgment; and so, having seen, he unstintingly puts his stamp of approval on the contribution they have made to the general life of this Dominion and the manner in which the present day Ukrainian has become imbued with our way of life, our language, our laws and our institutions.

Throughout the world the Ukrainian has earned universal respect because of the magnificent struggle he put up against the enemy; and in Canada he is beginning to get the same accord for keeping in line with our way of life.

Indicting a Whole Race for the Crime of an Individual

But it was not always thus. In the past every time a crime was committed the exception was made the rule and the whole race was made the goat of an act committed by an individual. If a word was not properly accented, if their customs varied, if they exhibited traits of character and temperament different from our own, if their ways did not coincide with those of Canadians, the aliens invariably fell prey to endless jokes, butts, insults and indignities.

The matter of crime seemed to afford a special reason for abuse. If an alien was brought up for theft, then all foreigners were thieves; if a foreigner beat his wife, then all aliens were wife-beaters; if a new Canadian killed a human being, then all new Canadians were murderers; and so ad infinitum, making the crime of an individual an indication of the mentality and morality of the race to which the said person may have belonged.

Edmund Burke once said: "I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people. I really think that for wise men this is not judicious; for sober men, not decent; for minds tinctured with humanity, not mild or merciful."

It is therefore neither mild, merciful nor judicious to tag all Ukrainians with the crime of one of their race. There is good and bad in every race, and on the average one is no better or no worse than the other. A study of the judicial and penitentiary statistics shows quite definitely that the crime record of our so-called aliens is no worse on the whole than that of our native-born.

Exclusion of Prejudice From the Selective Principle

The Hon. Mr. Crerar must have been motivated by this thought when he said:

"People of that type have a very useful and definite contribution to make to the well-being of this country. Consequently, when we consider the resumption of immigration to Canada we must clear our minds of any prejudices, we must not feel that the people we are bringing here are inferior in education, culture or any other respect to those already here—By wise selection we can get good industrious people—people with the pioneering spirit—We are not yet through with the pioneer-stage in Canada."

For when one realizes how alike are all the people in this country, how similar their joys, their cares, their longings, their lives, when one learns notwithstanding what the defamers may say, how universal is the decency, the honesty and the worthiness of the common man, no matter what his origin may be, then the admonition of the Hon. Senator to forego all prejudices in the selection of immigrants must carry more weight.

Europe vs. Canada

It is quite true that Europe is a seething, restless conglomeration of races, differing in language and religion, and with all the smouldering feuds of by-gone ages. It is also true that we have a miniature Europe in Canada; but one cannot help but note the difference in attitude on the part of our polyglot and cosmopolitan inhabitants not only in regard to the country of their adoption, but also towards the other races that are making their contribution in the building of this great nation. Differences in temperament and characteristics there naturally must be; but these will all be ironed out when our alien inhabitants will have been acclimatized and inured to their new surroundings.

and when tactful handling will have convinced them that they are accepted as equals to share the benefits as well as the responsibilities of our citizenship.

Four Freedoms Should be Implemented

If we are to escape the terrible consequences of war, if we are to approach a genuine brotherhood of Man without which there can be no peace, then it is high time we become realistic about the matter. The Four Freedoms we hear so much about are meaningless unless we implement them adequately. Speaking of the moral aspect of the question the Hon. Senator thought that we are not justified in sitting on top of all these resources and taking the attitude that we will keep them to ourselves and share them with no one. Such a policy, he said, would end in disaster.

Fallacy of Argument that Immigrants Would Put Us Out of Work

In his address the Hon. Mr. Crerar pointed out the fallacy of the argument of some organizations in Canada that new immigrants would compete with our farmers and labourers.

"It was fallacious because there never was a time when this country was more prosperous, business more active, and the people had more work to do, than when we were conducting an active immigration policy. The effect of immigration from 1889 to the outbreak of the First Great War is seen in the fact that during that period, Canada made greater progress in the accumulation of wealth and the development of industry than at any previous time in her history. Why? Because the immigrants, though in general having very little capital, worked steadily and were continuously producing new wealth. There were railways constructed, towns built, coal mines opened, timber areas exploited, and the prairie sod was broken. All these things were a direct consequence of large immigration The plain fact of the matter is that by increasing your population and diversifying your activities you stimulate and fructify business and commerce in a score of ways. By doing so you increase national production and, in turn, national income, and you ease the financial load. At the same time your fine generous action will give fresh hope and courage to despairing millions in Europe who to-day are homeless and do not know where to go."

Canada and the Melting Pot Experimentation

A country like Canada offers great possibilities for melting-pot experimentation. The best that is in our racial elements can be welded with the finest that we possess ourselves with a resultant composite whole that will be better than any of the component parts. We have a real League of Nations right here in Canada to realize and propagate the underlying principles thereof.

The Playground as a Field of Assimilation

The Hon. Senator made specific mention of a picnic he attended at Ethelbert, Manitoba, some years ago, noting the excellence of the music, the drama, and the fine spirit exhibited in the sports, all in true Canadian style, including the razzing of the umpire.

And many of us harking back to the days when we played similar games on the back lots of our birthplace with contemporaries of a multitude of racial origins, have always been greatly agitated over the future welfare and security of the great common heritage given us on this side of the ocean by a Supreme Being to perpetuate the old and yet ever-lasting doctrine of peace, good-will and brotherhood of man; and notwithstanding the vicissitudes, the exigencies and antipathies resultant from a peculiar complex psychology of racial conflict, we still retain the optimism and hope, born of the democracy of

youthful experiences, that Canada can some day become a beacon light to the rest of the world, torn by bitter strife and racial animosity, to show the way to a better and more complete understanding among the various constituent elements thereof.

The Causes of War and the Avoidance of War

If we wish to avoid wars in the future let us get rid of the causes of war. In a continent where literally hundreds of people are congested in one square mile of territory there is always bound to be trouble unless that congestion is relieved; for when people have too much and some too little there is bound to be future conflict. Europe definitely is a HAVE-NOT continent; while Canada is just as decidedly a HAVE country. And unless we help to mitigate that congestion what moral right have we to point the finger of scorn at those less fortunate than ourselves?

It is not because we want to like Europe less, but because we wish to love Canada more, or some such reason, that we refuse to take in more immigrants; but no country has greater love than the one which is willing to share its bounty with others, not as an outright gift but as an offer of citizenship with concurrent benefits and responsibilities.

It Can't Happen Here

When Mr. Crerar spoke of the disaster that a closed-door policy might entail he no doubt had in mind the lessons of history so replete with instances of HAVE-COUNTRIES being overrun by the HAVE-NOT COUNTRIES. Yet we console ourselves with instances of false security that it could not happen here. But the Egyptians found to their sorrow, and so did the Greeks and Romans, that it did happen; and the rest of the world will find it happening again and again unless something is done about it.

When a kettle full of hot water begins to seethe we either take the lid off or else partially empty it; and so it is with congested nations; the surplus populations must have some place to which they can emigrate. But where?

His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, Suggests a Way Out

His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, in a radio address, June 1, 1941, put the correct philosophy of the situation when he said:

"Our planet with all its extent of oceans and seas and lakes, with mountains and plains covered with eternal snows and ice, with great deserts and tractless lands, is not, at the same time, without habitable regions and vital spaces now abandoned to wild natural vegetation, and well suited to be cultivated by man to satisfy his needs and civil activities; and more than once, it is inevitable that some families migrating from one spot to another should go elsewhere in search of a new homeland. Then according to the teaching of the RERUM NOVARUM the right of the family to a vital space is recognized. When this happens emigration attains its natural scope as experience often shows; we mean the favourable distribution of men on the earth's surface which God created and prepared for use of all. If the two parties, those who agree to leave their native land and those to admit the newcomers, remain anxious to eliminate, as far as possible, all obstacles to the birth and growth of real confidence between the country of emigration and that of immigration, all those affected by such transference of people and places will profit by that transaction, the families will receive a plot of ground which will be native land for them in the true sense of the word; the thickly populated countries will be relieved and their people will acquire industrious citizens. In this way the nations which give and those which receive will both contribute to the increased welfare of man and the progress of human culture."

Hon. Mr. Roebuck, Senator, Asks for Immigration Investigation

It happens that Canada is one of the last remaining countries of "habitable regions and vital spaces", a land so vast that it would take almost a week to traverse it by train from Halifax to Vancouver. And all along the journey, both north and south, lie millions of dormant acres waiting the turn of the plough. And as one travels on that long journey one can not help but wonder how so small a population can maintain such a huge transportation system passing through so much empty space. 12,000,000 people cannot do it, and the reason is under-population, too few people to keep the wheels of industry turning.

Agriculture is and always will be the primary industry of Canada. And yet the amount of land under cultivation is but a small proportion of the "habitable regions and vital spaces" in this country. The fact is so obvious that it hardly needs stressing, and yet nothing is done about it.

But it is a matter that is agitating the minds of many Canadians and none more so than that of the honourable senator who introduced his motion in the Senate on April 4, 1946. This motion is most comprehensive in character as it calls for a thorough examination into the whole Immigration Act and a report on the findings thereof.

Just what action the Government will take when this report is finally tabled cannot be foreseen, but the Ukrainian Canadian Committee takes this opportunity to place before the Government the case of the Ukrainians as regards the question of Immigration.

Ukrainian Canadian Committee Asks Admission of Refugees to Canada

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee, which is a co-ordinating body for all Ukrainian organizations throughout Canada, believes that immigration to Canada is both essential and necessary; but its main plea is on behalf of those displaced persons in Europe who seek sanctuary elsewhere. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee is not the only organization with this goal in mind, but there are many others as well. Right in the heart of the Capital City, with headquarters at 124 Wellington Street, an organization under the name "CANADIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON REFUGEES AND VICTIMS OF POLITICAL PERSECUTION" is now functioning. It consists of 150 representative citizens selected from all parts of Canada together with representatives of more than 40 national organizations. The Committee held its first meeting on Dec. 6 and 7, 1938, under the following executive: Honorary Chairman: Sir Robert Falconer; Chairman: Senator Cairine R. Wilson; Honorary Treasurer: W. R. Creighton; Executive Secretary: Constance Hayward.

This latter organization states quite plainly that it is not urging any large mass immigration, but a generous policy in admitting carefully selected individuals or groups of individuals to sanctuary on Canadian soil. The Ukrainian Committee functions somewhat in the same manner with the difference that it co-ordinates all the Ukrainian organizations throughout the Dominion.

Like the Canadian National Committee it also is vitally interested in the fate of these European Refugees and it likewise would urge the admission of a generous number of Ukrainian displaced persons.

Ukrainians Excel in Agriculture

The Ukrainian Committee can point with justice to agriculture as an industry in which Ukrainians have attained considerable success; and it believes that it is to this industry that most of those refugees would turn if admitted to Canada.

Back in the homeland the Ukrainians have already been a distinctly agricultural people; and in Canada the majority of them live on the farms. Mr. N. J. Hunchak, B.Sc., B.Acc., in a Book called: "Canadians of Ukrainian Origin",

compiles the following figures: "With a population of nearly a third of a million (305,929) in 1941, the Ukrainians are fourth in numerical importance, 65.2% of whom are Canadian-born, 90.8% of whom are British subjects, and 93.02% use one or the other of the official languages of Canada . . . Out of 113,921 gainfully employed persons 54,972 are engaged in agriculture, the remainder in the other industries. 48.25% of the Ukrainians are engaged in farming as against 25.83% of all the other nationalities."

Democratic Spirit Inherent in Ukrainian Character

And not only in Canada but throughout the world, wherever they may be, the Ukrainians prefer Agriculture to any other industry. In the pursuit of this calling they have always shown great adaptability and initiative. Driven from pillar to post down through the ages because of their self-reliant and independent character, these people have developed a democratic spirit that has become inherent in the Ukrainian race. It is because of this spirit that they now have to roam the European Continent as refugees. And it is this spirit, when confronted with economic exploitation by their political oppressors, which caused them to seek ways of relief best suited to their temperament. This relief they soon found in the co-operative movement. In a review of this movement Mr. Roman Olesnicki points out that in spite of being outnumbered 6 to 1 by the Russians, the Ukrainians had twice as many co-operatives as the Russians—and this in spite of repression by their more numerous competitors.

Ukrainians Excel in Co-operative Activities

And in Western Ukraine the story is much the same. Here, notwithstanding numerous pacifications and repressions by a reactionary Polish Regime, the Ukrainian co-operatives thrived even without the aid of that government. And when one considers how this movement grew even under oppression and repression, it is only reasonable to presume that under a Liberal Regime such as Canada affords, it would have grown to gigantic proportions.

Since many of the educated Ukrainians were put on a quota basis as regards University training they were compelled to finish their education in foreign countries; and since the aforementioned reactionary government made it impossible to secure higher positions, they naturally turned to the co-operatives for a livelihood. Thus it was that these co-operatives secured highly trained men of education. But the majority of them are now refugees, having flown to escape the horrors of an invader whose ideology was anathema to them.

Love of Liberty a Distinctive Characteristic of the Ukrainians

These people are not Nazi sympathizers or collaborators as communistic propaganda would have us believe, but genuine lovers of liberty and all that it stands for. For the Ukrainians always have been a democratic people.

"One of the finest traits in the Ukrainian national character," writes William Henry Chamberlin, author of 'Russia's Iron Age', "is the love of Liberty." The Ukrainian heroes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the Cossacks, the warrior frontiersmen who fled from the yoke of the Polish squire or Russian landlord and founded their wild, free military community 'beyond the rapids', on the Lower Dnieper. They went on expeditions, half-crusading, half-marauding, against Turks and Tartars, liberating large numbers of Christians who were held in slavery. They were unwilling to bow to any despotic authority, either Polish King or Russian Tsar or big landed Polish aristocrats. They were quick to rebel against their own elected 'atamans', or military chiefs, if they found the latter guilty of oppression or of treason.

If these refugees love liberty as we love it, should we be the first to condemn them? If they choose exile, yea, even death, rather than return to slavery, should we be the first to castigate them? What is there in the U.S.S.R. for them to return to? The Russian Bear with his hard up-raised paw in readiness to strike them down? And for what? Not because these Ukrainian refugees are Nazi sympathizers, and the whole world knows they are not, but because they dare to believe in liberty and the dignity of the common man.

The Ukrainians as a Bulwark of Civilization

"During the heroic age of Ukrainian history," continues Mr. Chamberlin, "when the sturdy Cossacks fought in innumerable campaigns and in many parts of Europe, the Ukraine was a sort of No Man's Land, a dangerous frontier region, scene of many fierce campaigns, where the Cossacks maintained a turbulent independence amid the contesting ambitions of Russians, Poles, Turks, and Crimean Tartars. It is this exposure to constant danger that imparted to the pioneer Ukrainians many of the qualities of American frontiersmen: daring, self-reliance, skill in the arts and tricks of war with merciless and cunning enemies. The Borderland (Ukraine) was a hard school, where only the brave and the strong were likely to survive."

But what chance have the brave and strong to survive in a strange land without work and the means of existence? For that is the plight of displaced persons in Europe to-day. Is the role of the Ukrainians always to be a saviour of the rest of the world without being saved themselves? Are they always to be a bulwark for others without others being a bulwark for them?

Part the Ukraine Played in the Last Great War

Much has been said of the part that Russia played in this war, as if Russia were the only part of the U.S.S.R. that did anything to defeat the Nazis. Did anybody ever hear of the First, the Second, the Third, the Fourth, etc., Ukrainian armies that drove the Germans out of the Ukraine and then marched into Berlin? Apparently Mr. Edgar Snow, war correspondent, did, for this is what he writes in the *Saturday Evening Post*, January 27, 1945, from Kiev:—

"It was not till I came here on this sobering journey into the twilight of war that I quite realized the price which Ukrainians paid for Soviet victory. This whole titanic struggle, which some are apt to dismiss as the 'Russian glory' has, in all truth and in many costly ways, been first of all a Ukrainian war. No fewer than 10,000,000 people, I was told by a high official here, have been 'lost' to the Ukraine since the beginning of the war. That figure excludes men and women mobilized for the armed forces."

Ukrainians Make Supreme Sacrifice to Save the World

In other words one-third of the whole Ukrainian race had to die to save Russia, to save the rest of the world, and to save themselves. Was it for naught that these people died? Could not their deeds be commemorated in the same manner as was done at Gettysburg so that slavery might be abolished from the earth? Could we not with equal fervour say that we cannot dedicate, nor consecrate, nor hallow the ground where these Ukrainians fought and died that we might live. It is for us more fortunate people who suffered so little in comparison, both materially and in lives lost, to dedicate ourselves to the unfinished work which the Ukrainians thus far have so nobly advanced, and we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; and that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; and that this nation shall have a new birth of freedom and a new sense of responsibility in the forthcoming Brotherhood of man, and that

we make a start in this direction by allowing at least some of these refugees to find sanctuary in Canada and share with us the type of democracy for which so many Ukrainians made the supreme sacrifice.

Implementation of Atlantic Charter—Prominent Voices Heard

It is almost sacrilege to paraphrase the language of immortality, but the Ukrainians have died for as noble a cause as ever did those at Gettysburg; and yet the world at large has little noted that fact. There are, however, some noble men and women in high places who have noted it, and their words should give momentum not only to a general protest against the treatment accorded the refugees but also to a genuine implementation of those doctrines for which the war was fought, and, let us hope, won.

Among those whose voices have been heard are such leaders of public opinion as: Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Hon. Hector McNeil, British parliamentary under-secretary of state, Premier Peter Fraser of New Zealand, His Holiness Pope Pius XII, Doctor Watson Kirkconnell of McMaster University, Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce, Congressman Michael J. Bradley, Senator Arthur Vandenburg, Doctor Clarence A. Manning, and others. And they have something to protest about.

Baptist Church Head Protests: Appeal on Human Grounds: Bares Situation

"There are constant and disquieting reports that, in violation of international law but in alleged conformity with the dictatorial Yalta pact, the military authorities in the British and American zones are forcing such refugees—especially Ukrainians, Poles, Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians—into Soviet repatriation camps for compulsory transportation... At a time when American, Canadian and British troops abroad are clamouring for speedy repatriation, these millions of displaced persons in Western Europe dread repatriation worse than death and are committing suicide or starving in the forests in order to escape the horrors of coming under Soviet rule. These are not war criminals.

"To hand them over to the red army and the N.K.V.D. is to murder them. He who deliberately surrenders an innocent man to his murderers is himself guilty of the felony. It would be a moral calamity of the first order if our Canadian Government should share in the responsibility for these crimes.

"Never before, to my knowledge, have Christian nations connived at such an atrocity on such a scale.

"May I urge, Mr. Prime Minister, that the Canadian Government should make itself the voice of the conscience of Canada, and actively try to prevent these crimes against humanity? And I urge that Canada should bear its share of an offer of asylum to these fugitives from death."

Miss Emma Birkett Testifies: Appeal on Human Grounds

As an added testimony to the above letter, the experience of Miss Emma Birkett should be given. Writing in the September 6, 1945, issue of the London *Weekly Review*, she says:—

The period from October, 1939, until June, 1941 (the period when Russia and Germany were on the same side) will forever remain in the memory of Western Ukrainians as that of their greatest sufferings.

Executions combined with mass deportations into the depths of the Soviet Union filled the whole population with terror. Many political leaders, essentially nationally-minded, were deported into Asia and soon died in exile.

To-day these people, of whom there are millions, are scattered all over Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, Holland, Poland, Roumania and the Balkans.

To-day, all Ukrainians, regardless from which part of their country they come, are in tragic position. By nature individualist and Western-minded, imbued with fanatical love of personal freedom, they find themselves geographically squeezed between two totalitarian systems, both of which they feared and hated.

To-day when the guns are quiet in Europe, the future of Ukrainians scattered across the continent is still very dark.

The problem of all these wretched people is one of the greatest magnitude. Their fate in Europe is one of the terrible consequences of this war. They do not claim any priority in getting help from the outside world. But should not their case, simply for reasons of humanity, receive more attention than until now.

Out of the Crucible: Comrade Gouzenko Sees the Light

From the description of these displaced persons it is only reasonable to presume that they would make good citizens of Canada. Having passed through a crucible of such suffering related above, their love of the type of liberty that we enjoy over here is not likely to wane by reason of the experiences they have had to pass through in Europe. The case of Comrade Gouzenko, the key witness in the spy ring trials, shows what appreciation of Canadian Democracy can be when seen in the light of the practice thereof of both countries. And if this is what an alien, whose sufferings were in no way comparable, thinks of our system, then the regard of the refugee would be immeasurably greater.

The Pilgrim Fathers and the Independent Spirit

No people have played a greater part in United States history than the Pilgrim Fathers and their descendants. Here again it was the independent spirit which drove them into the wilderness of America; and it was the same motive that made the Ukrainian a wanderer with no place of sanctuary in sight.

Agricultural Progress

The Pilgrims at least had a definite place of destination, but the Ukrainians are doomed to die a slow death by starvation, or perhaps suicide, unless some one takes them in. They do not seek the charity that comes from other people's work, but the opportunity to do the same kind of work.

And in the case of the Ukrainians it would be mostly in the field of agriculture. Mention has already been made of the illiteracy of the early Ukrainian immigrants. But to-day the illiterate is the exception and not the rule. There is a vast difference between the early settler of fifty years ago and the established farmer of to-day. Our compulsory system of education coupled with the ambition of the immigrant has seen to that. The straw-thatched mud hut has long since been replaced by the modern home, and education has completely filled the cultural gap. Scrub cattle no longer roam the open prairie, but pedigreed stock are now a common part of the farmstead. And agricultural students are too numerous to mention them all by name.

Mr. Prodan, Agricultural Representative, Reports Progress

"We ought to be proud of many of these people", testified an English resident of Rossburn, Manitoba, to a *Free Press* reporter. "They came here to that stone-heap near the mountains and they have made it blossom like the rose. An implement man was telling me of selling one of them a threshing machine for thirty-seven hundred dollars. When the vendor produced a note to sign,

the farmer indicated that he would pay cash and produced an impressive roll of bills, perhaps three times the required amount. It was a cash sale outright."

Perhaps this resident had in mind the 1930 Canadian National Community Progress Competition, when Rossburn won 1st Prize; Ethelbert, 2nd Prize, and Stuartburn and Vita, 3rd Prize—all three Ukrainian Districts.

Referring to Stuartburn District, Mr. Prodan, Agricultural Representative, reports that the cattle population thereof increased tremendously as indicated by the fact that in 1919 there were only a few cream shippers in the District and a total of about 60,000 pounds of butter was produced annually. In 1945, there were three creameries in the same district which produced three-quarters of a million pounds of creamery butter. The quality of butter improved from 7·1 per cent table grade cream in 1923 to 87·8 per cent "Table" cream and 7·6 per cent Special grade cream in 1945. This is higher than the Manitoba average which is 74·8 per cent table and 5·0 per cent special grade.

As regards seed production, two Ukrainian boys, the Pushka brothers of Angusville, Manitoba, took the greatest percentage of awards and prizes for seed exhibited at the Provincial Seed Fair held in 1938 in the Eaton Store at Winnipeg.

At the Dauphin Short Course held March 11-14, 1946, 15 of the 45 top marks and prizes were awarded to students of Ukrainian descent.

At the Provincial Dressed Poultry show held in 1939, poultry clubs from Stuartburn District, the members of which were all of Ukrainian origin, won 86·6 per cent of all the prize money. Quantity of dressed poultry in the same district improved from 7·3 per cent in 1933 to 19·7 in 1940, and volume in the same period increased from 3,479 pounds to 26,965 pounds.

Another Ukrainian, John J. Dudych, of Hazelridge Junior Seed Grower's Club was the champion seed grower of the province winning the Axel Bergkvist cup three times. He also has been awarded the McPhail Trophy which is the highest recognition for contribution to seed production by a member of the Manitoba Seed Clubs.

Winnipeg Free Press Comments on these Achievements

In commenting on these outstanding achievements, the *Manitoba Free Press* wrote:—

Far and away the most outstanding instrument for this result—indeed for results in all directions is the Public School. The gift of education has been Canada's outstanding benefit to these people, but it is equally important to note that they have seized upon this instrument and made it their own. The State is no longer imposing the public school upon these communities. The school is part of the community.

So once again illiteracy has been conquered!

Astounding Successes Reported from Alberta: Skladan Wins Oats Championship of World Twice in Succession; Pawlowski Wins Oats Championship and Barley Championship of World

Some very astounding successes have been reported from the Province of Alberta. Here again the School House of which the *Free Press* speaks so highly has paid off large dividends. And here ignorance has been dissipated by the highest type of agricultural intelligence.

The *Edmonton Bulletin*, December 1, 1940, carried the following large headlines:—

William Skladan, 23, son of Mr. and Mrs. K. Skladan, of Andrew, Alberta, won his second world's championship for oats at Chicago, Sunday, with his sample of Victory Oats that weighed 49·1 pounds per bushel. Mr. Skladan has been a member of the Junior Club for the past seven years.

This is one of the things, which as the Press put it, "should be passed on to those who are unwilling that their preconceived notions should be disturbed."

As A Reporter Sees Bill Skladan's Great Achievement

Infinite capacity for taking pains plus unbounded courage in the face of domestic obstacles may well express William Skladan's success in winning his second world's oats championship in three years, is the way a press reporter describes it.

Living under circumstances that would have quashed the hopes for any sort of a grain championship of many a youngster did not stop Bill Skladan.

He won his first major award in 1939 and instead of being contented with resting on his laurels, Bill demonstrated further his indomitable will by repeating this year and showing all the dubious gentry that his victory in 1939 was not merely a "flash in the pan".

Bill's father came here from Western Ukraine about 30 years ago, and after working as a labourer for three years settled on a farm.

The never-say-die spirit now exemplified by their son was deeply entrenched in the Skladans as they started farming on the proverbial shoestring. Like his parents, Bill has grown up realizing that farming means hard work from sunrise to sunset in summer as well as in winter.

Oldest of nine children, Bill had to leave school as soon as he reached 15, to assist his father with the ever increasing chores around the farm.

His farm was far from the most fertile in the Andrew District; and the Skladans were faced with the extra work of maintaining and preserving its fertility as far as time and money would permit.

Added responsibilities fell on the shoulders of the eldest child when his mother was stricken with a permanent illness several years ago. Nothing daunted, Bill became vitally interested in the Andrew Junior Grain Club.

Burdened with the mental strain over his mother's illness, and with extra responsibilities that rest with the eldest in a family of nine, Bill found time to tend to his plots, to do the necessary preparing for exhibiting his samples and to attend grain club meetings at regular intervals.

The time needed for preparing a bushel of oats adds up to days, as every grain has to be hand-picked and trimmed. Bill did all this and more.

He is an able athlete and until two years ago, was an active boxer. He is also an outstanding soft ball player, playing third base on the Sbiatyn team which has won numerous trophies and championships.

William Pidruchney, former district agriculturist for the Willingdon District, was the organizer of the Andrew Junior Grain Club. Incidentally Mr. Pidruchney is now agriculturist of the Territory in which the world's barley champion, Paul Francis Pawlowski of Vilna resides.

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee publishes this report in full since it represents the saga of the Ukrainian immigrant's struggle and ultimate success so well. Bill Skladan is that immigrant's most worthy representative. All through his life "the will to win" has played a leading roll. He conquered domestic handicaps. He conquered on the athletic field. And he has repeated the conquest over all oat growers of the world.

Another World Champion Comes On The Scene: Paul Francis Pawlowski

And as if this one great achievement was not enough, on December 2, 1940, the news flashed that another Ukrainian, Paul Pawlowski, Vilna, Alberta, was crowned the new world oat king. And in 1941 this same young man won the Grandchampionship in Barley with his six-rowed. If this is ignorance then Canada should make the most of it; there is a place in our wide open spaces

for new settlers of this calibre. A repeat championship in oats, a double championship in oats and barley is quite an achievement for immigrants who were tagged as ignorant and undesirable and nonpreferred.

Pawlowski Shows Good Judgment

The success of Paul Pawlowski is another instance of Ukrainian initiative and adaptability. At a banquet attended by many high officials it was revealed that a few hours after he had safely cut and stooked his prize oats light frost damaged nearby crops. Good judgment in cutting his field of oats was just one factor in the long train of things that won. The reeve of the municipality, John Ropchan, told how one of the three-quarter sections of land comprising the farms of the Pawlowski family had been so run down when sold to the father of the champion, that the municipality sold the 160 acres at a tax sale for \$25.00.

Determination To Stay On The Farm

Good farming seems right in the line of the Pawlowski family for they won 700 points at the Vilna Junior Fair, the largest in the province. A younger brother, Steve, won 7th prize for his first Chicago competition in wheat.

Pride that the young oat king was determined to stick to the farm was expressed by George Bennett, Wheat pool director, "Men with university training are needed on the farm as much as any place that I know of to-day", said Mr. Bennett, "to give leadership so badly needed."

A Word About Mr. Pidruchney, District Agriculturist

Mr. William Pidruchney, the District Agriculturist who did so well in coaching these champions, hails from the same district of Ethelbert, Manitoba, of which Mr. Crerar spoke so highly. Under his capable guidance oat kings and barley kings emerged, and various other pupils won prizes of lesser degree.

In this respect he is not alone, Mr. Magera, District Agriculturist, Willingdon, Alberta, running him a close second. Both Mr. Magera and Mr. Pidruchney had at one time and another coached the oat champion, Mr. Skladan. In one year alone five of Mr. Pidruchney's pupils won five prizes at Chicago in oats, while five boys tutored by Mr. Magera did the same.

A Few Other Significant Wins

In 1940 the Andrew Grain Club won the aggregate championship at the provincial seed contest. N. W. Dushenski of Willingdon, a junior exhibitor, swept the barley special prize list. He won the first prize of \$100.00 offered by the Alberta Brewing Industry for the best sample of malting barley in the provincial show. Second Eli Lastiwka, also of Willingdon, and third was W. M. Shewchuk, of the same town. Mr. Dushenski also won the Canada Malting Company cup for the best malting barley in the junior division.

In 1932, two boys from the Willingdon District, George Fediuk and George Shewchuk, coached by William Pidruchney, showed outstanding ability in grain judging and junior grain club work in winning the finals of these events over strong competition from all over the province and entitling them to a trip to the Royal Winter Fair at Toronto.

Two other boys under the tutorship of Mr. Pidruchny, Frank Shymko and William Strynadka, Willingdon, Alberta, in open competition at the annual swine club events in Edmonton, Alberta, won the C.P.R. challenge cup, and were presented with gold medals together with a free trip to the Royal Agricultural Fair at Toronto. Not only were these boys champion judges of swine but they were members of a swine club that produced and marketed the best carload

lot of bacon hogs in all Alberta, winning \$100 in cash from the Dominion Government.

Mr. Jacob Grinevich, Warspite, Alberta, farmer, won the sow championship at the annual Edmonton fall sheep and swine show with his entry Granspite lady 5W and the Reserve championship with another of his prize sows, besides capturing two first and three 2nd prizes in other sow and boar classes.

Mr. William Stefura, Chipman, Alberta, won the Grand Championship with his shorthorn Bull, Oakwood Knight, a fine red bull calved in 1941, and sold in 1943 for \$700.

Another pair of Willingdon boys, again under the coaching of Mr. William Pidruchney, were winners of the Canadian Pacific Railways competition, receiving a cup emblematic of the Alberta hog judging championship. The boys, P. Lazaruk and H. Strynadka, also a free pass to Toronto.

A Ukrainian from Saskatchewan, won the Alfalfa Championship at the Chicago Show in 1939, Mr. E. Kowalski, Fernview, Saskatchewan.

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee supplies a list of Ukrainian prize winners at the Chicago International Shows. For lack of space it picks out at random three successive years, 1939, 1940 and 1941, to give at least some inkling of the progress made by Ukrainians on the farms, or rather the contribution they have made to agricultural.

1939 Awards to Ukrainians at Chicago International Shows

CHAMPIONSHIP OATS:

Bill Skladan, Andrew, Alta. (Victory Oats, 49·1 lbs. per bushel)

CHAMPIONSHIP ALFALFA SEED:

E. Kowalski, Fernview, Sask. (Variety-Grimm)

OATS—REGION 1:

1. Prize, Bill Skladan, Andrew, Alta.,
2. J. W. Lastiwka, Willingdon, Alta.,
5. Tom Menzak, Desjarlais, Alta.,
7. Paul Pawlowski, Vilna, Alta.,
9. William N. Babiuk, Willingdon, Alta.

BARLEY—Six-Rowed:

1. Eli Lastiwka, Willingdon, Alta.,
3. John J. Fedorak, Willingdon, Alta.,
6. John T. Eliuk, Hairy Hill, Alta.,
7. William N. Babiuk, Willingdon, Alta.

Chicago International Shows 1940 Awards

CHAMPIONSHIP OATS:

Paul Francis Pawlowski, Vilna, Alta.

RESERVE CHAMPIONSHIP BARLEY:

Eli Lastiwka, Willingdon, Alta.

OATS—Region 1:

1. Paul Francis Pawlowski, Vilna, Alta.
2. J. W. Lastiwka, Willingdon, Alta.
4. William Skladan, Andrew, Alta.
6. John Fedorak,
7. Peter Pacholek, Spedden, Alta.
8. John Krawchuk, Edwand, Alta.
10. Peter Hryniw, Waskatenau, Alta.

11. William Babiuk, Willingdon, Alta.
12. John T. Eliuk, Hairy Hill, Alta.
14. Wm. Shewchuk, Whitford, Alta.
15. Marshall Baydala, Vegreville, Alta.

1941 Awards at Chicago International Shows: List of Ukrainian Winners

OATS CHAMPIONSHIP:

Bill Skladan, Andrew, Alta.

BARLEY—Six-Rowed Championship:

Paul Pawlowski, Vilna, Alta.

BARLEY—Two-Rowed:

1st prize, Tom Menzak, Desjarlais, Alta.

WHEAT:

3. J. S. Pawlowski, Vilna, Alta.; 9. Wm. Shewchuk, Whitford, Alta.;
13. Fred Halkow, St. Michael, Alta.; 17. Nick Andrushow, St. Michael, Alta.; 18. John Lazaruk, Willingdon, Alta.

OATS:

1. Bill Skladan, Andrew, Alta., other winners being: J. W. Lastiwka and William N. Babiuk, both of Willingdon, John J. Fedorak, both of Willingdon; Wm. Shewchuk, Whitford, Alta., Roy Maksymec, Northern Valley, Alta., John Lazaruk, Willingdon, Alta., Fred Bortalski, Northern Valley, Alta.

BARLEY—Six-Rowed:

Grand Champion: Paul Francis Pawlowski, Vilna, Alta., other winners were: Eli Lastiwka, Willingdon, Alta., John J. Fedorak and Peter W. Fedorak, both of Willingdon, Alta., William Shewchuk, Whitford, Alta., William N. Babiuk, Willingdon, Alta.

BARLEY—Two-Rowed:

1. Tom Menzak, Desjarlais, Alta.
2. Andrew Anthony Pawlowski, Vilna, Alta.
3. William Babiuk, Willingdon, Alta.

The three Pawlowski brothers, it should be noted, distinguished themselves as follows:

Paul won the Grand Championship in Barley six-rowed; Steve got 3rd prize in hard red wheat; Andrew received 2nd prize in barley 2-rowed.

It should be noted that a Ukrainian won the Reserve Championship in Barley in 1940, Eli Lastiwka being the winner. Tom Menzak, also Ukrainian, won this prize in 1941.

It is worthy of note that, while in 1941 only 16 prizes were given, i.e., in oats, 11 of these were won by Ukrainians, a remarkable achievement, when you consider that this was a world competition. In 1939, there were 15 prizes in oats and five of them were won by Ukrainians.

The above facts and figures show decidedly what an asset the Ukrainians are to Canada. And all these successes emanated from individuals who were considered ignorant 50 years ago, and who still are classified as "NON-PREFERRED" in our Immigration Regulations. If these are the results that we are getting from such "non-preferred" people, then it would be wise to bring more of them into Canada again.

But if we objected to the "ignorant" immigrant of a century ago, what would be our attitude towards the educated refugee of to-day? The European Continent is literally flooded with men and women of refinement looking for

sanctuary. A great many of them were former executives and organizers of co-operatives, the success of which did not meet with the approval of the new over-lords. They were too capable and too independent for a red regime, whose punishment for such behaviour was either banishment or slow death by forced labour or the firing squad. They chose flight rather than the straight-jacket limitation of communism. And in this respect they acted in no wise different from the way a Canadian would have acted in his place. They preferred to wander into the regions of the unknown rather than remain among the legions of serfs and abject slaves; for their love of freedom transcended such fears and buoyed them with the hope that some day, perhaps, they would be free in fact as well as in thought, to work, to live and to worship in complete safety.

The Analogy of the Pilgrim Fathers

In the final analysis this continent was largely founded by refugees. When the Pilgrim Fathers were forced by religious persecution to leave the homeland and seek new homes for themselves in the wilderness of America, they left their mark on the political and cultural life of the entire continent that has continued to this day. When the Huguenots fled to Great Britain they gave a tremendous impetus to the industry of that country. When the United Empire Loyalists refused to join in secession from the motherland they made their way to Canada whose institutions were moulded by their influence.

Is it Christianlike to Refuse Sanctuary?

And apart from all motives of self-interest to which we might appeal there is the question of universal humanity. We are still a young and expanding country, with more than our proportion of resources and "habitable and vital space". Is it true Christianity to refuse sanctuary when this is one of the few free countries to which these unfortunate people can emigrate?

Do We Want Educated Immigrants?

Returning to the matter of education, if that is a qualification, then there certainly is not a dearth thereof among the refugees. If it is thrift, and hardiness and intelligence, then the record of the Ukrainians speaks for itself.

Where is there a railway section without its Ukrainian foreman? Where is there an extra gang without its Ukrainian workers? Where is there a forest without its Ukrainian lumberjacks? And where is there a factory without its Ukrainian hands?

Section foremen were usually chosen from among Ukrainian labourers because of the thrift and meticulous care with which they applied themselves to jobs of that kind, where nothing was ever left undone. It is work upon which the safety of our railway passengers depends, and it is usually completed to the satisfaction of our railway officials.

It is true that most of these early immigrants were poor and illiterate when they first came here, but they more than made up for this so-called "disqualification" by their desire to learn, by their thrift, their sturdiness, their perseverance and their determination to make good at anything they applied themselves to.

Once the Ukrainians came to Canada they remained here; they were stickers in the true sense of the word. It did not take them long to fulfil their homestead requirements; it did not take them long to pay off their debts and obligations. In the old country their fare was of the poorest, yet they finely thrived on it; they had very few home comforts as we know them in Canada, yet they dearly loved their rude dwellings. They were family men in a much closer sense than is usually the case over here; they lived; they loved; and the whole world was the land on which they worked. They retained in Canada those fine characteristics for which they were noted in the old country, and unquestionably Canada has profited thereby.

Preferred Group and Non-Preferred Group—Is it Just?

In the years following the conclusion of the First Great War the tendency was to exclude rather than include immigrants. And thus it was that non-British immigrants were divided into three groups in accordance with a carefully accepted practice of "placing greater emphasis upon race than upon citizenship." (See Report of the Immigration Branch, 1941.)

The first is the "PREFERRED GROUP", which includes citizens from Iceland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Germany, France, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland. They have the same freedom from restrictions as the British, except the benefit of reduced passenger rates.

The second "NON-PREFERRED" group would include Austria, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Roumania, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Of this group only farmers, farm-labourers, domestic servants and the immediate relatives of those already resident in Canada, may be admitted.

The third "NON-PREFERRED" group allows the citizens of Greece, Bulgaria, Italy, Syria, Turkey, Armenia, and the Jews to be admitted only by special permit.

A Minister Gives His Reason For Said Qualification

A former Minister of Immigration after exploding the myth of racial superiority admitted there was a race issue behind this treble classification.

"Some nationalities", however, he said, "are much more easily absorbed than others, and we have to take into consideration this question of immigration."

Qualifications of the Ukrainian Immigrant

Measured by any standard whatsoever we fail to see wherein and how it takes longer to make a desirable citizen out of a Ukrainian than any other European. He learns English just as fast; he educates his children just as readily; he serves on school and municipal boards just as well; and in the matter of paying his debts, his record is second to none in the Dominion.

As regards war service it has been estimated that about 35,000 Ukrainian boys and girls joined up as volunteers in the armed service. In a featured article in the Geographical Journal, Mr. Wright points out that "more Ukrainians from Saskatchewan in proportion to population have joined up than any other nationality." And in the matter of War Bonds and Certificates, they certainly do not lag behind others in the purchase thereof.

Perhaps as good a picture as any of the way Ukrainians enlisted in the last war can be seen in the manner in which our young men enlisted in the armed forces, or rather by citing 4 lists which appeared on four successive days in one of our Western Daily newspapers.

- List No. 1: 10 Ukrainians out of 36 volunteers: Adamyk, Krysko, Pawlyk, Maruszczka, Poburan, Sikorski, Talpash, Zetaruk, Cheknita, Leskiw.
- List No. 2: 7 Ukrainians out of 44 volunteers: Dembicki, Bigoray, Babish, Baran, Sorochan, Skrypnyk, Bilyk.
- List No. 3: 7 Ukrainians out of 45 volunteers: Bayrock, Czech, Dashkevich, Zebeluk, Lozinski, Stroich.
- List No. 4: 5 Ukrainians out of 48 volunteers: Kul, Bahry, Krechenuk, Procyk, Buray.

Thus out of 173 volunteers, 29 were of Ukrainian extraction, which on a percentage basis gives the Ukrainian boys about 11 per cent of the total. As the population of Alberta is about 750,000, and the Ukrainians there number about 50,000, they constitute barely 6 per cent of the total. And yet according

to the above figures their percentage of volunteers (11%) is almost twice as high as their population percentage; which goes to show that they more than did their part in war service.

The Dead Hand of the Past

And yet not even the millions of Ukrainians lives lost in defence of freedom; not even the solemn promulgation of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms; not even the realization that the nations must come closer together for their mutual salvation has changed the Immigration Act. "The moving hand having writ" will not change it one bit. And neither plea nor plight nor persuasion will alter the provisions thereof.

The Folly of Living Unto Oneself

This last Great War has shown the folly of one nation trying to impose its will on the rest of the world; it has also shown the dependability of one country upon the other; that no single people can stand alone in face of danger; and that humanity must gravitate towards a genuine Commonwealth of Nations if it is to survive.

But the old discriminatory classification, like the brook, goes on and on, differentiating, prejudicing, provoking, antagonizing. As against the Ukrainians, what the so-called "Preferred races" done in the last war to justify their preference? How much nearer were they to extermination as a race, because of their democratic ideology than the Ukrainians? And what greater efforts did they put forward to win the war than the Ukrainians?

Purpose of this Brief is not to ask for Priority, but rather Equality

This brief is not an effort to belittle one race and ask priority for another, but rather an appeal for equal opportunity and a square deal to all races. It frankly recognizes the boon of Canadian citizenship and the privileges enjoyed thereunder; but it expresses with equal candor some phases of our Departmental Regulations that appear to be too discriminatory, prejudicial and unjust.

We believe that the war has broken down many pre-conceived ideas with regard to racial concepts, in so far as the races which were considered backward have by their extraordinary heroism and supreme will to survive earned the right to equality.

Since charity should always begin at home, we believe that the Four Freedoms should be implemented by some practical application on the home front.

We thus think that it would be a major contribution to world economic dislocation if under-populated countries like Canada admitted some of the surplus population of Europe to our shores, thus creating a home market for our raw materials which otherwise would have to depend upon uncertain foreign trade.

We do not believe in the bogey set up by those who think that each immigrant brought to Canada will displace some one already resident here, Mr. David H. Popper in the "Survey Graphic" (New York) refutes this contention when he says: "Apparently it has been useless, thus far, to point out that every immigrant is a consumer as well as a producer; that he required food, clothing and shelter which will be furnished by local labour; that history abounds in examples of fructifying migration movements which brought new industries, organizing ability and enterprise to growing countries or those threatened with stagnation or attack from abroad."

We believe that many of these refugees by reason of training and experience could be settled on the land and become a desirable asset to agricultural economy.

We believe that a portion of these refugees could be absorbed into the industries where their special talents would make a distinct contribution.

We believe that these refugees would be cultural as well as economic assets. Many of them already understand the English language, and if not, their mastery of several other languages would enable them to acquire our own speech in a comparatively short time.

We believe that these refugees would bolster up our own type of democracy instead of undermining it. The narrowing experiences through which they have been forced together with an inherent love of freedom would not make them any the less democratic than they were before. Indeed, their appreciation of our way of life would be all the greater.

We believe that in any case these refugees should be aided. We are under a moral obligation at least to assist their resettlement elsewhere, but why should we send our money, food and aid out of the country, when we can bring them over here to feed themselves with the proceeds of their own labour?

We believe that the exceptional talent of many of these refugees would be instrumental in establishing new industries in this country thereby improving our economic position.

We believe that it is only by virtue of greater population that Canada can achieve greater mass production with the usual accompanying lower prices of goods. This would help us compete with other countries more fairly.

We believe that the Ukrainian refugees of to-day will become a more assimilable type than the immigrant of yesterday by reason of his superior education and more cosmopolitan outlook, and by reason of the necessity of nations to draw more closely together. The last war taught us that there are no superior races and no inferior races, that the superior races might easily become the inferior races and vice versa; that we are all dependent upon each other for mutual protection; that the old shiboleths and signals are obsolete; that narrow nationalism must give way to a broader community of nations, in fact, a more genuine brotherhood of all people of the world. This would not mean a submerging of the various national cultures but a merger of a variety of cultures, not a monotonous and drab sameness, but a multi-coloured variety with contributions from all the nationalities—"British political wisdom, Jewish Cosmopolitanism, and realism, French lucidity of mind and expression, German emotional depth and capacity for work, Slavonic spontaneity and verve—all these are there in the riches of our Canadian life and each set of qualities can be learned and assimilated by all." The quotation is from a speech by Prof. Watson Thomson.

We believe there are natural processes which assimilate the individual far more effectively than the arbitrary hand of power; we have seen before our very eyes the formerly unbelievable mixture of the races of Canada by inter-marriage, not a day passing without our daily newspaper carrying the announcement of the marriage of some Ukrainian boy to some Anglo-Saxon girl, or some Ukrainian girl to some Anglo-Saxon boy, and the continual flow of British war wives returning to their Ukrainian soldier husbands in Canada. And we see in this union a force more powerful than even a San Francisco or London, or New York Conference in welding together the people of the world, in that the union is more sincere and therefore more binding, unhampered as it is by expediency and political jockeying for place.

We see before our eyes the picture of the original immigrants, poor and illiterate, but hardy and determined, trekking his way to the homestead many miles away from the nearest homestead, fencing, plowing, brushing, seeding, reaping, meanwhile building a hut to live in, marrying, raising and educating a family, participating in the social, cultural and political life of the com-

munity, his children winning scholastic and civic honors, rising from poverty to comfort, saving his earnings, acquiring new holdings, and finally ending a long and useful life by succumbing only to the grim reaper who takes us all in his stride.

And these are the immigrants that our Regulations classify as "NON-PREFERRED". There are the people who mix freely with our own native-born but are categorized as something inferior. Inferior in what? In fighting qualities, in capacity to learn, in adaptability, in thrift, in perseverance, in honesty, in initiative, in assimilability, in intelligence or in loyalty?

This is not the time to discriminate or differentiate, but to settle and allay. The Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms should be more than mere posters set up for display. The last War should have been a victory not only over a common enemy but over ourselves as well; a victory of reason over intolerance. The radio and aeroplane have done much to bring the races in closer touch with each other, and the last war has had at least the one positive effect of grinding some outworn and outdated conceptions out of our system, amongst which was the fallacy that some races were ordained to rule and others were not, that some were super-men and others were created merely to follow.

With charity towards all, and malice toward none, let us implement things we fought for, or should have fought for. If we believe that men are created free and equal, let us, in the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt, "distill some real achievements out of the dregs of present disaster—and remembering the words written on the Statute of Liberty, let us lift beside new golden doors and build new refuges for the tired, for the poor, for the huddled masses yearning to be free."

Respectfully submitted,

Ukrainian Canadian Committee,

Reverend Dr. W. KUSHNIR,

President.

J. W. ARSENYCH, K.C.,

Secretary.

STANDING COMMITTEE

IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES

1820-1945

Year	No. of Persons	Year	No. of Persons	Year	No. of Persons	Year	No. of Persons
1820	8,385	1852	371,603	1884	518,592	1916	298,826
1821	9,127	1853	368,645	1885	395,346	1917	295,403
1822	6,911	1854	427,833	1886	334,203	1918	110,618
1823	6,354	1855	200,877	1887	490,109	1919	141,132
1824	7,912	1856	200,436	1888	546,889	1920	430,001
1825	10,199	1857	251,306	1889	444,427	1921	805,228
1826	10,837	1858	123,126	1890	455,302	1922	309,556
1827	18,875	1859	121,282	1891	560,319	1923	522,919
1828	27,382	1860	153,640	1892	579,663	1924	706,896
1829	22,520	1861	91,918	1893	439,730	1925	294,314
1830	23,322	1862	91,985	1894	285,631	1926	304,488
1831	22,633	1863	176,282	1895	258,536	1927	335,175
1832	60,482	1864	193,418	1896	343,267	1928	307,255
1833	58,640	1865	248,120	1897	230,832	1929	279,678
1834	65,365	1866	318,568	1898	229,299	1930	241,700
1835	45,374	1867	315,722	1899	311,715	1931	97,139
1836	76,242	1868	138,840	1900	448,572	1932	35,576
1837	79,340	1869	352,768	1901	487,918	1933	23,068
1838	38,914	1870	387,203	1902	648,743	1934	29,470
1839	68,069	1871	321,350	1903	857,046	1935	34,956
1840	84,066	1872	404,806	1904	812,870	1936	36,329
1841	80,289	1873	459,803	1905	1,026,499	1937	50,244
1842	104,565	1874	313,339	1906	1,100,735	1938	67,895
1843	52,496	1875	227,498	1907	1,285,349	1939	82,998
1844	78,615	1876	169,986	1908	782,870	1940	70,756
1845	114,371	1877	141,857	1909	751,786	1941	51,776
1846	154,416	1878	138,469	1910	1,041,570	1942	28,781
1847	234,968	1879	177,826	1911	878,587	1943	23,725
1848	226,527	1880	457,257	1912	838,172	1944	28,551
1849	297,024	1881	669,431	1913	1,197,892	1945	38,119
1850	369,980	1882	788,992	1914	1,218,480		
1851	379,466	1883	603,322	1915	326,700	Total	38,461,395

IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES FROM CANADA AND NEWFOUNDLAND

Years	Number of Persons	Years	Number of Persons
1820-1830	2,485	1911-1920	742,185
1831-1840	13,624	1921-1930	924,515
1841-1850	41,723	1931-1940	108,527
1851-1860	59,309	1941	11,473
1861-1870	153,878	1942	10,599
1871-1880	383,640	1943	9,761
1881-1890	393,304	1944	10,143
1891-1900	3,301	1945	20,909
1901-1910	179,226		

NOTE.—The above figures are taken from the Annual Reports of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The figures for years 1820 to 1898 include all British North American possessions.

The figures from 1906 onward record immigrants entering the United States who were permanent residents of Canada and Newfoundland. Prior to 1906 the figures represent immigrants from Canada and Newfoundland, a proportion of same presumably being in transit through these countries and not residents thereof.

1946

THE SENATE OF CANADA



PROCEEDINGS OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON

Immigration and Labour

On the operation and administration of the
Immigration Act, etc.

No. 3

TUESDAY, 25th JUNE, 1946

The Honourable James Murdock, P.C., Chairman

WITNESSES:

Mr. J. S. W. Grocholski, President, Canadian Polish Congress.

Mr. Walter Dutkiewicz, General Secretary, Democratic Committee to Aid Poland.

Mr. John Gorowski, representing Associated Poles of Canada.

Honourable Victor Podoski, representing Committee of Polish Professional and Trade Associations.

APPENDIX

Statement showing activities of Polish Engineers and Scientists (War Refugees) admitted to Canada during the war.

STANDING COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND LABOUR

The Honourable JAMES MURDOCK, P.C., Chairman

The Honourable Senators

Aseltine	Donnelly	McGeer
Blais	Dupuis	Molloy
Bouchard	Euler	Murdock
Bourque	Ferland	Pirie
Buchanan	Haig	Robertson
Burchill	Hardy	Robinson
Calder	Horner	Roebuck
Campbell	Hushion	Taylor
Crerar	Lesage	Vaillancourt
Daigle	Macdonald (<i>Cardigan</i>)	Veniot
David	McDonald (<i>Shediac</i>)	Wilson

ORDER OF REFERENCE

EXTRACT from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Senate, Wednesday, May 8, 1946.

"That the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour be authorized and directed to examine into the Immigration Act (R.S.C. Chapter 93 and Amendments) its operation and administration and the circumstances and conditions relating thereto including (a) the desirability of admitting immigrants to Canada, (b) the type of immigrant which should be preferred, including origin, training and other characteristics, (c) the availability of such immigrants for admission, (d) the facilities, resources and capacity of Canada to absorb, employ and maintain such immigrants, and (e) the appropriate terms and conditions of such admission;

And that the said Committee report its findings to this house;

And that the said Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records."

L. C. MOYER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, 25th June, 1946.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour met this day at 3 o'clock, p.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Murdock, Chairman, Aseltine, Bourque, Buchanan, Campbell, Crerar, Macdonald (*Cardigan*), McGeer, Molloy, Robinson and Roebuck—11.

The Official reporters of the Senate were in attendance.

The Committee resumed consideration of the order of reference of 8th May, 1946, directing the Committee to examine into the operation and administration of the Immigration Act, etc.

Mr. J. S. W. Grocholski, President, Canadian Polish Congress, was heard and read a brief by the Canadian Polish Congress.

Mr. Walter Dutkiewicz, Toronto, Ontario, General Secretary, Democratic Committee to Aid Poland, was heard and read a brief by the Democratic Committee to Aid Poland.

Mr. John Gorowski, Ottawa, Ontario, was heard and read a brief on behalf of the Associated Poles of Canada.

Honourable Victor Podoski, representing Committee of Polish Professional and Trade Associations, with headquarters in London, England, was heard with respect to Polish immigration to Canada, and advocated admittance to Canada of members of the Polish Armed Forces in England and other Polish refugees of Europe.

Mr. Podoski filed a statement outlining the activities of Polish Engineers and Scientists (War Refugees) admitted to Canada during the war, which was ordered to be printed in the record.

The Honourable Senator Roebuck read to the Committee a copy of a letter he had mailed to Dr. Alfred Fiderkiewicz, Minister from Poland, Ottawa, Ontario, informing him of the meeting of the Committee this day and of the delegations that would be heard.

At 5.40 o'clock, p.m., the Committee adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, 26th June instant, at 10.30 o'clock, a.m.

ATTEST.

H. ARMSTRONG,
Clerk of the Committee.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

THE SENATE,

OTTAWA, Tuesday, June 25, 1946.

The Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour, which was authorized and directed to examine into the Immigration Act, met this day at 3 p.m.

Hon. Mr. Murdock in the Chair.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Chairman, if I may act as, shall I say, Master of Ceremonies, may I say that we are honoured today by having at our meeting a number of very prominent Canadian citizens of Polish origin, who are representative of societies in Canada composed of a membership of that nature. We have, for instance, Mr. J. S. W. Grocholski, a barrister of the city of Toronto, who is President of the Canadian Polish Congress. The Congress is composed of quite a large number of organizations, and perhaps represents a larger number of organized Canadian citizens of Polish origin than any other society in Canada. Then we have Mr. W. Dutkiewicz, General Secretary of the Democratic Committee to aid Poland, an organization which has been very active in the matter indicated by its name. The third organization from which we shall have the pleasure of hearing is Associated Poles of Canada. Mr. Peter Taraska, of Winnipeg, who appears to be the Chief Executive of that organization, has designated Mr. John Gorowski, B.A., to represent him and his fellow officers of that association.

In addition to those three organizations, which I think are representative of all the Poles of Canada, with perhaps very few exceptions, we are honoured by having with us the Hon. Victor Podoski. Mr. Podoski was at one time Minister Plenipotentiary of Poland in Canada, but he does not appear in that capacity. We all know him as such, or I would make no reference to the fact. He comes as the representative of as many as twenty organizations in Canada and elsewhere concerned with the fate of the members of the Polish Army in England and elsewhere, and he is vitally interested in Canadian immigration in that regard. I have no doubt he will give us much and very valuable information on that subject, for he is thoroughly familiar with it.

I would like to make a general comment, Mr. Chairman, with regard to this type of evidence, both because of some things that we have heard here at previous meetings and also because of some discussion that is going on. It should be thoroughly understood that this committee is charged with the duty of inquiring into Canadian immigration, which is a local and domestic problem, and is not concerned with the politics of Poland or any other country in Europe, unless of course something in connection with one of those countries has a bearing on our own local problem. I am not dictating to any witness who comes before us, but I do call attention to the fact that a discussion in this committee of the politics of the countries of Europe is futile, is not within our jurisdiction, and it might be harmful, in view of the fact that many Canadian citizens have relatives in those countries who might be in some way affected by public statements made here. It should be borne in mind that the statements made by the members of the committee and by witnesses are taken down and printed in a permanent record. That record may be sent to Europe to any of the countries involved, perhaps to the governments of those countries, and might perhaps have effects which can hardly be gauged at this moment. I am simply calling attention to the fact that we are a committee dealing with a local and domestic problem only.

Mr. Chairman, may I now call upon Mr. Grocholski? As I have said, he is President of the Canadian Polish Congress, an organization of Canadians of Polish origin, who, like we English people, are still interested in the Motherland.

Mr. J. S. W. GROCHOLSKI, President, Canadian Polish Congress: Mr. Chairman and honourable senators, I have asked Senator Roebuck whether I could be granted the privilege of a few minutes to present a statement on my work, which has involved a number of years and is strictly on a Canadian pattern. Senator Crerar, from Manitoba, will remember that a few years ago I called on him, in his official capacity as a member of the government at that time, and asked him for financial assistance, I think to the extent of many thousands of dollars, for a venture in publication, the object of which was to interpret the cultural background of the diversity of our population in Canada. The publication was *Canadians All*, and it is still in existence. It fell into certain financial difficulties, and it is struggling to alleviate the burden of those. In the meantime, wanting to be of more service to Canada, we incorporated The Institute of Racial and Cultural Research, a non-profit organization, which has as its purpose the study and promotion of national unity and the integration of Canadians of various racial origins. The first publication that the Institute brought out was a little pamphlet, which took the cold statistics from the 1941 census and presented them in coloured graphs. That apparently was considered quite effective, because the Department of Citizenship in Ottawa ordered 2,000 reprints, which perhaps honourable senators have received or seen.

I would like to table here, Mr. Chairman, a brief statement from the Institute, together with a few copies of the reprinted bulletin to which I just referred. If there is any further information we can give, we of the Institute shall be at your beck and call.

The CHAIRMAN: You want this brief to go on the record? I see it is addressed to me.

Mr. GROCHOLSKI: I do not think so, Mr. Chairman. After you have heard all the other witnesses you may consider whether the Institute can be of service to you. It is strictly for your consideration. We may be able to answer some questions for you later.

The CHAIRMAN: All right.

Mr. GROCHOLSKI: Mr. Chairman, without going into details of what Canada should do with regard to the problem of immigration, we bear in mind the simple fact that Canada needs to enlarge her population. With that in mind and having before us the important question that was raised at the beginning of your deliberations, the availability of immigrants to Canada, we present our brief based on the admission to Canada of members of the Polish armed forces.

CANADA NEEDS A LARGER POPULATION

The Second World War and the subsequent political and economic progress placed the Dominion of Canada in a new and highly responsible position among the nations of the world. There is an unanimous feeling among all loyal and patriotic citizens of this country that while this new position opens before the people of Canada a perspective of unprecedented opportunities for development and prosperity, it imposes on us new responsibilities and we are faced with a number of problems, which will have an immediate bearing on the future of the country and in the welfare of our future generations.

In these conditions more and more Canadians realize that the upholding of this leading position in the world necessitates a much larger population of the Dominion than the present one. Only with a largely increased population will we be able to increase our national income through opening of new territories, development of our immense resources and creation of new industries. In this

way only will we be able to develop our internal market to the necessary extent to make our economy independent from the fluctuations of foreign export markets and to strengthen our economic position at home and abroad in face of the competition of other great industrial powers.

At present an increased population is also the simplest way of relieving the Canadian taxpayer by the distribution of the burden of our obligations on a larger number of taxpayers.

Finally, in the age of new and deadly weapons of an unprecedented power, in which the natural invulnerability of our borders and coasts has lost much of its significance, we will need a much larger population for the defence of our unprotected territories in the case of danger.

Statistical calculations show, that at our present birth rate the natural increase of population is so slow, that without an influx of immigrants it would remain below the 20 million mark even at the end of this century. It is, therefore, obvious that only a vigorous policy of immigration can enable the people of Canada to seize opportunities which history is now opening for us. Such a policy, thoroughly planned and free from errors of the past, is at present advocated by many of our leading Canadian businessmen, economists and politicians.

POLICY ON SELECTION

A creative and economically sound policy of immigration must be based on a wise selection of people not only by their origin, race and physical fitness, but above all, by their moral values and potential possibilities of becoming successful co-builders of our national greatness and prosperity. When the official immigration policy of this country allowed the originally liberal laws to restrict immigration to a more and more narrow group of farmers and unskilled labourers with little or no education, the process of integration of these immigrants into our national life became exceedingly difficult and the contribution of the newcomers to the development of the country became less distinct. These limitations of immigration to one occupation and one social strata lead undoubtedly to the formation of racial prejudices and discriminations in our community life, making the life of the new immigrant even harder. To all those who know the problems of immigration, not from theory, but from personal experience, it seems highly important that the new immigration policy be based on different principles of selection. Immigration of groups, representing all the live elements of a community, both the hands and the brains, would be the best way of increasing our productive potential without the danger of forming surpluses of unskilled labour.

The Canadian-Polish Congress, a nation-wide organization of Canadians of Polish ancestry, representing 135 different cultural, educational, economic, veteran and religious associations, clubs and parishes, is fully aware of the importance of a sound immigration policy both for Canada and for those people, who as prospective immigrants, look to Canada for a new home as the land of their choice.

FIRST POLISH IMMIGRATION

The Polish immigration to Canada began as early as 1774 when, after the first partition of Poland, A. F. Globenski settled in St. Eustache as surgeon and physician. From its very beginning this was an immigration of people who could not find in their homeland, then divided and oppressed by foreign powers, the personal freedom and opportunity for creative work for which they longed. This immigration was formed throughout the whole Nineteenth Century, by and large, of soldiers and patriots who were obliged to seek refuge after the wars and revolutions which were waged by the Polish nation against its oppressors for over a hundred years. They came here after the partitions of Poland, after

the Napoleonic wars, after the insurrection of 1831, after the revolutions of 1848 and 1848, after the great uprising of 1863, after the wave of repressions of 1880, after the revolution of 1905. They settled in this country and became a part of this nation, playing their part in the development of this country and in the formation of our community. Such an immigrant was Polish-born Sir Casimir Gzowski, one of the greatest Canadian engineers and pioneers, who laid the foundations for our present railway system and for our technological advancement. Such immigrants were also Shultz-Shobtevski, Berent and Okonski, tragic heroes of the battle of the Windmill, who, like Gzowski, were once soldiers of the Polish insurrection army of 1831. To the same type of immigrants belonged the men who came here with the second expedition of Lord Selkirk and opened the Red River valley. To the same type belonged the thousands of people who came here from Poland during the second half of the last century and opened our way to the Canadian West, clearing the land and enlarging our frontiers. All these men and women have paid their contribution to the growth and prosperity of this country and their achievements form a part of our common heritage.

LATER POLISH IMMIGRATION

Then, after the First World War, new people came from Poland. They were only humble labourers and farm workers, because others were not admitted. They had to endure many hardships on their way through to the Canadian West, as also discriminations and adversities. But they all had endurance, patience and character and they all arrived at a certain degree of prosperity. These men have also paid their contribution to the growth of our country, by their hard work, sweat and tears; their work helped to make us the granary of the world, and when the Second World War broke out, the children and grandchildren of these people paid their soldierly duty to their country.

WORLD WAR II REFUGEES—ASSET TO CANADA

In the first years of this war a new group of Polish refugee immigrants was admitted to this country. It was a group of some 400 skilled craftsmen and 265 scientists, engineers and technicians, who came here from England and France to help in the development of our war industries. Their work has not only greatly improved our position in the time of a great scarcity of technical personnel, but it has created new branches of production, introduced new manufacturing processes and advanced our practical knowledge in many fields of engineering science and research. According to information obtained from the Department of Labour, the initiative of these men has created the following new branches of industry in Canada:—

1. Production of alcohol from waste pulp liquor, carried out in a large plant in Thorold, Ont., by the Ontario Paper Co., developed by Mr. M. M. Rosten, a Polish chemist. This is the most modern alcohol plant on the American Continent and based on a unique process.

2. Production of glucose from potatoes and wheat, organized by Mr. Lipszyc, a Polish Chemical Engineer, who brought with him the plans for this process, which is at present carried out in New Westminster, B.C., and Moose Jaw, Sask., in two plants operated by the Pacific Glucose Refinery Ltd. and the Western Chemurgy Ltd. These are the first glucose factories to produce from wheat and potatoes on the American Continent.

Another Polish refugee, Mr. Brzozowski, invented a new type of helicopter. This invention led to the creation of the Jet Helicopter Corporation in U.S. and Canada, and the research laboratories of this Corporation (affiliated with the Cargo Inc.) are in Montreal, where this revolutionary design is being developed.

At the same time Polish scientists have organized the Department of Aeronautics at the University of Montreal in 1942. There are six Polish professors teaching now at Canadian universities.

Within five years of their stay here these refugees have organized twelve industrial corporations, employing more than 800 people, a number larger than the total admitted in their group. It is worth while to note that the same group of people organized the first two gliding clubs in Ontario, and played an important role in the training of our youth in this beautiful and useful sport. The experience and skill shown was a great help in the professional training of our young Canadian aircraft designers and production engineers.

The example of this group of immigrants shows how useful for our country may become a planned immigration of experienced and trained people. Almost all of these men plan to stay with us for the rest of their lives and most have filed their intention of becoming Canadian citizens.

There are many worthy people among all the European nations who would like to settle in this country and who would make excellent citizens after naturalization.

POLISH FIGHTING FORCES AS PROSPECTIVE IMMIGRANTS

The Canadian-Polish Congress, who chose as one of its principal objectives to act as an interpreter of the land and tradition of Polish ancestry to fellow-Canadians and to extend assistance to people of Polish descent, considers it also a duty to represent the case of the Polish Armed Forces in Great Britain and to plead for their admission to this country.

The tragic fate of Poland during the last war forced a large number of Poles out of their country. They formed the Polish Army, Navy and Air Force in France, then in Great Britain and in the Middle East. This army fought valiantly during the whole of the war with the British and Commonwealth forces and took part in all the major campaigns on the Western and African theatres.

These men are now seeking a new home. They do not want to return to Poland, dominated by a foreign power and controlled by a totalitarian government, which rules the country against the will of the majority; a government ruling in accordance with orders received from abroad, by methods abhorrent to the Western mind. They do not wish to return because they know that under the present rule of terror they would soon become slaves, persecuted for their faith and democratic Western ideals, sent to prisons and into concentration camps in Siberia, tortured by political police or else starved or shot to death. Educated in the ideals of the Western world, of which Poland formed an integral part from times immemorial, they do not see for themselves the possibility of living in that entirely different world of oppression, tyranny and terror. They have to find a new home, a country of adoption, where they could cherish the freedom of conscience and freedom from fear and to live as free individuals in a society of free men.

The British authorities are preparing plans for their re-establishment into civilian life. The British Government, having had the opportunity of testing their value of soldiers and citizens, is planning to assist them in this difficulty. It would not be possible for them to settle in Great Britain, a country that is over-populated and that suffered so much during the war. Settlement in the countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations would be the best solution for their problem. Let us examine their qualifications as prospective immigrants to this country. What is their record and what are their references. Their story gives the answer.

THE POLISH ARMY

The Polish Army in Great Britain was formed in 1940, after the evacuation of Polish troops from France in fulfilment of the London agreement between Prime Minister Winston Churchill and the Polish Commander-in-Chief Wladyslaw Sikorski, on June 18, 1940. This army originated in France from volunteers who came there after the defeat of 1939, crossing many borders and facing numerous dangers on their way from their occupied country to the Western Allies. The majority of these men took part in the Polish campaign of 1939 and in the heroic and desperate resistance of the Polish people against the overwhelming forces of Germany and Russia, who attacked Poland from the west, south, north and east.

The first Polish Infantry Division participated in the fighting on the Maginot line and in the Saar sector. After the downfall of the French north-western front this division covered the retreat of the 20th French Army Corps. The First Polish Armored Division took part in the heaviest fighting on the Somme river, then on the Marne front, where they suffered very heavy losses. These units were evacuated in June, 1940, to Great Britain, where they were reorganized for the defense of the British Isles in the coming Battle of Britain. At about the same time there arrived in England the Polish Highlander Brigade, which was formed in France during the winter of 1939-40, and was sent immediately afterwards to Norway, as a part of the mixed Franco-British Expeditionary Forces in Norway. They played an important role in the Battle of Norway, where they had to their credit the victory in the great battle for Narwik. Withdrawn from Narwik to the British sector of the French north-western front, they covered the retreat of the British Expeditionary Forces in the Rennes sector during the Dunkirk operation. Their losses, as they formed the rearguard of the retreating British troops, were extremely heavy.

After being reorganized in Scotland and England, these forces formed an important element in the defense of the Isles. A part of them was sent to the Middle East, where they joined the Polish army in the Middle East. The rest remained in Scotland until D-Day. During the invasion of the continent and the subsequent campaigns these forces formed a part of the First Canadian Army under the command of General Crerar. They played a main role in closing the Falaise Gap (the armoured division of General Maczek) and in the attack on Breda. They participated as an advance group in all the major operations of the First Canadian Army in France, Holland, Belgium and Germany. Another part of the Polish troops that was trained on the British soil, the Polish Air-Borne Brigade, suffered heavy losses in the operation at Arnhem.

The Polish Second Army Corps, which fought in Africa and Italy and is now being transferred to Great Britain, is the largest unit of the Polish Army. The core of this army was the Polish Carpathian Brigade, organized in the Middle East in the early months of 1940. It was largely formed from refugees and volunteers who made their way from occupied Poland to Syria and Palestine. After the collapse of France this brigade was hastily sent to Africa, where the advance of the Italians threatened the Suez Canal. They fought under General Wavell from Marsa Matruh to the siege of Tobruk, where they defended the fortress for four months in one of the most exposed and dangerous sectors. When the siege of Tobruk was relieved they took part in the pursuit of the enemy to El Gazala. At the end of March, 1942, after almost a year of stay on the desert front, the Carpathian Brigade was shifted to the Middle East in order to reorganize. As at that time a large number of Poles were released from Russia, this unit became the core of a large army corps.

This new army was formed from men who were deported to Central and Northern Asia after the Russian attack on Poland in September, 1939, partly as so-called "prisoners of war" (although there was no war declared when the

Russians attacked Poland from the rear), partly as civilian deportees. Placed in concentration camps and forced to slave labour, they suffered not less than the inmates of the German camps at Matthausen, Belsen and Dachu. After the Russo-German pact of friendship was broken by the Germans, who attacked Russia, these men were released under the pressure of the British Foreign Office, formed an army under Polish command, were evacuated to Iran, then to the Middle East, where they were reorganized as the Second Polish Army Corps. At the beginning of 1944 they were made part of the British Eighth Army as a great operational unit. Detachment of Polish Commandos, trained in Great Britain, were made part of the British Fifth Army. After the invasion of Italy they fought first on the eastern sector of the Italian front and in the valleys of the Sangro and Garigliano rivers. After two months of fighting on the Eastern Italian front they were transferred by General Sir Harold Alexander, then Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces in Italy, to a new position near Monte Cassino. On May 18th, after a desperate struggle, Monte Cassino was captured. It was the key defence point of the enemy and the victory in this battle opened the way of the allied armies to the north. His Majesty King George VI awarded General Anders, who commanded the attack, the Companionship of the Order of the Bath, General Sir Harold Alexander wrote:

"I shall be grateful if you will convey a special word of praise to General Anders on the magnificent fighting qualities and tenacity of his Polish troops displayed in capturing the fortress which the enemy considered impregnable. This is a proud day for Poland and I salute the Polish flag which now flies proudly from the monastery fortress."

Fighting later on the Eastern Adriatic sector of the front the Polish Second Army Corps captured, after heavy fighting, the port of Ancona and the city of Bologna. This is the story of the Second Polish Army Corps. One has to add that these men fought bravely and loyally even after the fate of their country was decided at Yalta. Although a number of men and officers committed suicide when the Yalta agreement was published, the rest continued to fight valiantly, maintaining a perfect discipline, without hope for the future, keeping their word of honour, while a large part of the press in the allied countries, even in Canada, slandered them incessantly in the name of the so-called friendship with Soviet Russia. This was the highest proof of their character.

This is the story of the Polish First and Second Army Corps.

THE POLISH NAVY

The Polish Navy in Great Britain took part in the war against Germany side by side with the British Navy since September 3rd, 1939. They participated in the operations of Narvik, in the evacuation of Dunkirk, in the operations of the North Sea and in the Battle of the Atlantic. They were in action at Dieppe, in the North African Invasion, in the landings on Sicily and Italy, in the great operations of D-Day. They helped to escort a large number of convoys to Great Britain and Russia. In 1940 in the Commons Prime Minister Churchill declared:

"The other day in a well-known British harbour I inspected the crew of a Polish destroyer. I have rarely seen a finer body of men. I was stirred by their discipline and bearing."

Declared the First Lord of the Admiralty:

"The Royal Navy is full of the greatest admiration for the work done by the Polish Navy."

THE POLISH AIR FORCE

The Polish Air Force was organized in Great Britain in June, July and August of 1940. This force of approximately 14,000 men was used during the dramatic days of the Battle of Britain for the defence of London. The Polish Fighter Squadrons of the R.A.F. shot down 210 enemy planes during the Battle of Britain, almost one-eighth of all those destroyed by the R.A.F. in those dark days, when the future of the world depended on the "few to whom so much was owed by so many." Wrote the official historian of the Battle of Britain, George Saunders:

"...Conspicuous among them (the R.A.F. fliers) are the Poles. Their valour is tremendous; their skill bordering on the inhuman. They have done great service. They are still doing it and they will go on doing it until victory...."

The valour of these men was appreciated by His Majesty the King, who personally paid his tribute to their contribution in the Battle of Britain, visiting them in their units to shake hands and to congratulate them on their victories.

Later the Polish Bomber Command was formed; a number of Polish pilots fought also in other formations of the R.A.F. and participated in the operations of the Ferry Command. Polish fighters and bombers participated in almost all major operations over Germany and Europe. Their role in the Dieppe operation was particularly conspicuous. Hundreds of their graves in England will be a monument to the loyalty of the Polish soldier.

These are the records and the references of these 160,000 men who formed the Polish Army, Navy and Air Force in Great Britain and are at present considering the prospects of immigration to Canada and other Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

MEMBERS OF THE POLISH FIGHTING FORCES QUALIFY FOR CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP

What are their qualifications for civilian life?

In the opinion of the average citizen, the immigrant is a man who leaves his country in order to find a better job, a better pay and better living conditions. These men do not belong to this category. They did not leave their country for higher wages or better food. They left their land in order to fight and serve the cause of freedom. They made their way to the ranks escaping from enemy-held territory, crossing heavily guarded frontiers, sometimes escaping from one captivity to another, until they reached their aim. All they wanted was arms and orders, the opportunity to fight on our side against our and their enemies. Their only dream was to return home as soldiers after the final victory.

The victory, for which so many thousands of their comrades lost their lives on the battlefields of Africa and Europe, in the depths of the Atlantic and in the skies of England, was a defeat for them. Their hopes were smashed, their home did not regain liberty. This Poland, which was "created" at Yalta, cannot be regarded as an independent and democratic country by anybody who has the slightest knowledge of the truth. They do not have a land to which they could return as to their home. They have to build a new home of their own, among people of a different race and tongue, but of the same civilization, based on the principle of liberty of the individual and dignity of man. They have to become immigrants, sons of a new country, of a homeland of their own choice.

These men are undoubtedly the most unselfish and most courageous sons of a proud and ancient culture, who have shown their faith in the great international ideals of our Christian civilization not by words only, but by deeds. There are among them men of all walks of life, of all professions and of all types of

background and education. Seldom in history could a group of men be closer to the definition of a cross-section of a nation, comprising all the best and most valuable elements of a great and cultured nation.

DATA ON AGE AND EDUCATION

A statistical survey, prepared by the Polish Air Force Association, gives some data on the personal qualities of these people. Although this survey comprises only the 13,000 men and 1,200 women of the Polish Air Force in Great Britain it can be regarded as to some extent representative of the whole of the Polish Armed Forces, as all the elements of the Polish Forces were formed from the same type of volunteers.

A breakdown into statistical groups gave the following data:—

According to Age:

Below 25 years of age.....	27·5%
Between 25-35 years of age.....	38·0%
Between 35-40 years of age.....	26·7%
Between 40-50 years of age.....	7·3%
Above 50 years of age.....	0·5%

According to Education:

University Graduates.....	4·5%
With Senior Matriculation.....	23·2%
With Public School Education.....	71·8%
Without Education.....	0·5%

According to Family Status:

Unmarried.....	56%
Married, Family in Poland.....	17%
Married, Family Outside Poland.....	27%

According to Financial Position:

Average savings of all members in British War Bonds: Per capita.....	\$800.00
To this to be added the normal rehabilitation grants, same as in other British forces.	

In other branches of the services the breakdown into age and education groups will give similar data. As the majority of these men left Poland very young the breakdown into professions cannot give any figures of practical meaning. One can expect, that in this respect it will largely correspond to the general picture of the population of Poland in 1938 and 1939, with about 50 per cent of rural population and 50 per cent of industrial workers. According to the same source, there is only 7 per cent of the total of the group surveyed with clerical background, about 38 per cent of skilled craftsmen and artisans.

CULTURAL ASSETS

Among these men is quite a number of prominent artists, scientists, writers and professional men. Some of these men are desirous of settling here. The Canadian Polish Congress, the Association of Polish Engineers in Canada and other organizations here received many letters from these men, inquiring about the possibilities of organizing new lines of production, possibilities for studies, etc. In the light of the war-time experience with the small group of Polish Engineers who worked here, it seems that it would be of advantage to our economy to admit to this country a certain number of experts, who could contribute to the growth of our industries and to our cultural life. A large part

of them, especially among the scientific and technical men, is planning to accept the invitation of the Brazilian Government, who opened for them not only a free access to the country but also many facilities for their establishment there, as well as from other South American Republics, who are seeking highly qualified technical and scientific personnel. The number of those who would choose Canada would not be too large. One cannot forget that the work of Polish Artists and Scholars has achieved distinction all over the world. In the United States there are musicians like Rodzinski, Rubinstein, Malczynski, the sculptor Zamoyski in Brazil, and in England the painter Topolski. A number of men of similar outstanding talents are in the Polish Armed Forces, and it would be to the advantage of this country to have some of them among us, to let them study and work for the benefit of our cultural life.

As one can readily see from the above the men and women of the Polish Armed Forces have not only an excellent record as to their character and excellent references from authoritative sources, but also an adequate education and all the necessary general qualifications for life in Canada. The question remains, how difficult will be the integration of such a large group of such definite characteristics into our Canadian life and culture?

ADAPTABILITY FOR INTEGRATION

It must be stated, from the light of our previous experiences, that the higher the cultural level of our new immigrants the easier is the process of integration. The Polish Forces in Great Britain represent an unequalled case in this respect, being composed of people of the highest *moral and cultural* standard. They are the elements of a great cultured nation and there is no doubt that they are much above the level of even the best immigrants of the past. In the case of the Polish Armed Forces a number of additional factors seem to indicate that their integration in our communal life will probably be much easier and less superficial than that of any other non-British racial group that migrated to this country during the last 50 years. This assumption is based on the following facts:

1. The majority of these men are still very young. Even those in the higher age groups left their country several years ago and lived among the people of the British Commonwealth. They fought arm to arm with soldiers from England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Many of them know more about these countries and people than the average citizen here. In their contacts with the troops of the Empire they made many friendships and learned much of our laws, customs and traditions. And what is of particular importance, most of them know English and many of them French.

2. About 50 per cent of them are unmarried and they will have to establish their families here; a considerable number of them married Scotch and English girls and some have British-born children. The family life is extremely important in all the processes of national integration.

3. They fought in the armies of the British Empire, under British command. Some of them, like the Second Armoured Division, formed a part of the Canadian Army under General Crerar. They received their military training on British soil, in British training centres. British military tradition became a part of their own traditions. Many of them received British military decorations, like the D.S.O., D.F.C. and D.S.M. They are veterans of the same armies and of the same operations, and they will have a common language. There is no doubt that they will find many friends among our veterans.

4. They learned to appreciate the British institutions and the British people. They learned to appreciate the working of a fighting democracy at the time when this democracy was left without any major Allies and faced an enemy who seemed invincible. They have shown faith in this democracy. It may be ascer-

tained that they will be faithful to the ideals of our democracy as they were in the days of the Battle of Britain and during the grave moments of this war. Night classes on the value of democracy and citizenship will be superfluous for these immigrants.

This analysis presents that these men have practically all the necessary qualifications for becoming loyal subjects of His Majesty and citizens of this country in the nearest future. Moreover, they have all the necessary conditions for an early and successful integration into our national life as well co-ordinated members of our community and successful co-builders of our future. Their past record will become a page in the history of this country and a part of the military tradition of the Nation.

PIONEERING SPIRIT

The question remains if it will be possible for us to place these men in right jobs, to give them enough opportunities to make their life here a success. Will they not increase the ranks of unemployed and become a competition for the boys who were born in this country and who fought not less valiantly in our own Army and Navy?

This is certainly the most difficult question. However, the experience of history shows that our periods of greatest development were periods of open immigration. We also know that immigration is a necessary condition of our economic stabilization and of our international safety. We need immigration. And we know from history that the best type of immigrant is just the bold pioneer, the man who knows how to fight and how to conquer, the man who appreciates higher ideals more than material wealth. This type of man created the greatness of this country, of the British Commonwealth, of the United States. Canada is still a frontier land and we need men for our frontiers. Frontier-men do not form competition for the security seeker, who fears competition and dangers.

These boys do not expect us to give them a cradle-to-grave social security. They know well that this is the privilege of the settled, well established children of a mature economy and peaceful past. They will not be choosy when looking for jobs and they are not of the soft job type. As one can learn from their letters the only thing they desire is hard work and something that will replace for them their enslaved fatherland. They want a home. And they have the most important assets for a successful life in this country: They are young, willing to learn and obstinate in fight. They represent the pioneering type of man and the only thing they need to make success is opportunity. They will fit into the spirit and tradition of this country.

A large number of them has an agricultural background, along with agricultural education. Many of them have a war-time experience as mechanics and enough mechanical know-how to operate modern farm machinery; things most of the pre-war European immigrants seldom had. Their individual savings are small, but substantially larger than those of most of the European immigrants before the war. These will probably enable many of them to purchase some land in the less developed parts of the country where land is cheap, and to start farming, ranching or gardening, giving them an opportunity of building their own destiny in an environment traditionally dear to the heart of every Pole. Those who have specialized training and experience and decide to choose this country will bring along with them new ideas and initiatives which will create jobs for them and for many others, like the men who came here as war refugees. There is no reason to fear that these brave men will starve or become a public burden to our communities.

It should be remembered that by admitting these veterans of one of the finest armies who served during the recent war as a part of the armed forces of

the British Commonwealth we will increase our trained reserves by a very substantial figure.

RECOMMENDATION

Therefore, the Canadian Polish Congress in serious consideration of the above references recommends that *The Immigration Act* be administered to allow for an immediate and the utmost increase in our population that can be arranged.

However, because of the character, ability and availability of the personnel of the Polish Armed Forces, the Canadian Polish Congress recommends and requests that Canada offers herself as a home for these valiant men, by so doing giving the country citizens who will help to increase her security, prosperity and influence.

Respectfully submitted,

CANADIAN POLISH CONGRESS,

J. S. W. GROCHOLSKI, LL.B.,
President.

The CHAIRMAN: That is a splendid presentation.

Hon. Mr. ASELTINE: What languages do those people speak?

Mr. GROCHOLSKI: The boys who have served with the British Armed Forces, including the R.A.F., speak English, and many of them also have a knowledge of French, because it is the custom in most European countries to teach French as one of the languages in school.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: How many men were in the Polish Division of the Canadian Army?

Mr. GROCHOLSKI: There was an armoured brigade, which would be about 7,000. Those are the boys who went through Falaise, in the gap there.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Grocholski, I understand there are about 170,000 people of Polish ancestry in Canada at the present moment. Will you tell me if that figure is approximately correct?

Mr. GROCHOLSKI: The 1941 statistics, which are the latest available, showed 167,485 Poles in Canada.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I was not far wrong.

Mr. GROCHOLSKI: The figure is a little higher, I suggest, at the moment.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: And about half of them are in Ontario?

Mr. GROCHOLSKI: This is how they were divided:

Prince Edward Island	1
Nova Scotia	2,206
New Brunswick	233
Quebec	10,036
Ontario	54,893
Manitoba	36,550
Saskatchewan	27,902
Alberta	26,845
British Columbia	8,744
The Yukon	35
North West Territories	40

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Will the population movement during the war make much difference in those figures?

Mr. GROCHOLSKI: As a good Manitoban, having spent all my life in Manitoba until I moved to Ontario in 1942, I have no doubt that some difference has been made. I must have been one of those who, in accordance with the spirit of the time, acted upon the advice, "Go east, young man, go east."

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I am rather proud to think that the largest Polish delegation in Canada is in my city of Toronto. Am I right?

Mr. GROCHOLSKI: Well, sir, I used to be a citizen of Winnipeg, and I used to feel proud that Winnipeg had more Poles than any other city of Canada, but I believe now that Toronto has this distinction.

The CHAIRMAN: How many are in Toronto?

Mr. GROCHOLSKI: In 1941 there were 11,517 Poles in Toronto. There are many more than that to-day. I could give you the figures for other cities:

Montreal	7,045
Toronto	11,517
Vancouver	2,659
Winnipeg	11,024
Hamilton	5,312
Ottawa	785
Quebec	32
Windsor	2,936
Edmonton	2,923

That is, Canadians of Polish descent.

Hon. Mr. MOLLOY: You say all these people are of Polish descent?

Mr. GROCHOLSKI: Yes, sir.

Hon. Mr. MOLLOY: All born here?

Mr. GROCHOLSKI: Yes, sir.

Hon. Mr. McGEE: Some of them would be immigrants, would they not?

Mr. GROCHOLSKI: Yes. My parents immigrated to this country. The figures that I gave are of Canadians of Polish descent.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: What proportion of the people of Polish descent in Canada are engaged in agriculture?

Mr. GROCHOLSKI: The proportion used to be 80 per cent in agriculture and about 20 per cent in industry, but that has considerably changed, and I would say it is closer to fifty-fifty to-day. In the province of Ontario the proportion in industry, I would say, is about 60 per cent in industry and 40 per cent in agriculture.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: In Saskatchewan would they be mostly engaged in agriculture?

Mr. GROCHOLSKI: Oh, yes.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: Have you any idea how many of the Poles who are in Britain at present were engaged in agriculture prior to the war?

Mr. GROCHOLSKI: I have statistics from the Polish armed forces. Of course, many of those lads had never worked prior to the war; they were in school when war broke out.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Podoski can probably give us some information on that.

Hon. Mr. MOLLOY: Have you any arrangement for bringing any of these people to Canada yet?

Mr. GROCHOLSKI: I do not know of any, sir. They have to get a permit to come here.

Hon. Mr. McGEE: No permits are being allowed?

Mr. GROCHOLSKI: I know that many people have sought assistance in my office in Toronto to try to get their cousins and other relatives into Canada.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I know a number of nice Polish girls would like these young men to come over here so that they could get married to them.

Mr. GROCHOLSKI: I dare say a lot of Canadian girls would like to marry some of them too.

Hon. Mr. ROBINSON: Quite a number of Poles married Scotch girls.

The CHAIRMAN: We appreciate your statement very much, Mr. Grocholski.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I join you in that, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN: Our next witness is Mr. Walter Dutkiewicz. I understand he is the general secretary of the Democratic Committee to Aid Poland.

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: Mr. Chairman and honourable senators, before I read my rather short brief, I wish to make a few introductory remarks.

First of all, my committee represents something like fifty organizations, religious, educational, cultural and service clubs.

To our members this problem of immigration is very important. As you know, most of them came to Canada immediately before the great depression. They left their families behind. During the years of unemployment and later as the war set in they were unable to rejoin their families back home or to bring their families to Canada. So they were forced to remain apart from them for as many as from fifteen to twenty or twenty-three years. Therefore we think it is of great importance that our immigration laws be such as to permit these people to rejoin their families by bringing them here. I think we are all in agreement in regard to that.

I wish to say a few words in respect of the so-called displaced persons and also in regard to members of the Polish armed forces. I would speak of something of which I know, for this is always the best policy, of course. I had the opportunity of visiting Poland recently, and I met many of these people and many of the troops who came back from abroad. Therefore all these observations are based on my personal experience.

There is talk of bringing people from Western Germany, the so-called displaced persons. I question the wisdom of that move. These people were forced by the German occupation authorities to go there and work. Just as soon as the war ended these people naturally went home or are going home in great numbers right now from the British and American zones in Germany. Upwards of 12,000 weekly are returning home.

My own brother was a prisoner of war in Germany and was destined to slave labour. Immediately after the war ended he naturally came back to Poland and is now helping to rebuild his ruined country. This (exhibiting) is a little memento that my brother had to wear all the five years he was in Germany. You will notice it is a small disk with the large letter P in the centre.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: What does that mean, Mr. Dutkiewicz?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: It means he was a Pole. He had to wear this badge on every piece of his clothing, and periodically a search was made in his locker, and if this was missing from any piece of his clothing he had a fine clamped on him.

There was a considerable number of these refugee slave labourers, running into two or three millions. Most of them have returned, some on foot under indescribable conditions. I have met some of them in the ruins of the Reichstag in Berlin. They were looking it over as they passed on their way home.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Enjoying it?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: Yes. But the conditions in which they were were anything but satisfactory. The Government of Poland is making every effort to bring these people home because it needs them. But a certain number of them are reluctant to return. This we know from press reports, and I have also met Red

Cross officials who have investigated camps in Western Canada and also the personnel in charge of these camps, and they confirm the press reports. I would question the motives of these people who accept prolonged idleness in camps while their presence is badly needed in their own country. There are of course all kinds of people and they have their different reasons for not wishing to return to their native land. Some quite plainly do not like to work, while others may have done something which makes them afraid to go back. Still others have been forced to believe that they will be accepted somewhere where things are easier than in war-torn Europe. But those who are remaining in Germany and are hoping to emigrate, I venture to suggest are not very productive people. Therefore I would put a question mark on the whole proposal of considering bringing these people to Canada. Many of these people have no documents so you simply cannot check on their past. Consequently you are running the risk of bringing all kinds of Quislings, especially those who in Hitler's day collaborated with the German authorities of occupation. Many of those Quislings have done great damage to Poland, they have murdered hundreds of thousands of Poles, and they are now hiding in Western Germany. I repeat, it would not be possible to check on their past, and therefore it would be dangerous to Canada to bring those people here.

Then we have the question of Polish troops. It is really a deplorable and sorry problem. Already something like 40,000 troops have returned to Poland. I have met many of them. I shared rooms in Warsaw with many who have returned, for instance, General Monde. They all knew that their families and their country needed them, and therefore they went back. The road was not a very easy one. I have met some of the 14,000 who left Anders' army in Italy last November. The obstacles and the indignities through which they had to go in order to commit what was considered the "crime" of going back to their wives and mothers was something that would make headline stories. A soldier told me that anyone in Anders' army who declared his willingness to return was paraded before his comrades and was obliged to shout, "Long live Stalin!" and other slogans in order to discredit him and discourage any other soldiers who might want to go home.

In Poland it was a pitiful sight. All kinds of people talked to me when they heard I was from Canada. Women came to me with tears in their eyes and asked me, "When are our husbands coming back?" Of course, I could not tell them. It is unfortunate that some people are working very hard so that many of these husbands do not go back to their families. I do not think that is in the interests either of these people or of Canada.

I would not have made these remarks, Mr. Chairman, but for what was said by some of the previous speakers.

Mr. GROCHOLSKI: Our organization also applied for a delegation to go to Poland, but we were not granted a permit.

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: At one time I remember Senator Robertson made a remark which still sticks in my head. He said that good Canadians should bring all their culture from Europe and leave all their politics behind them. I think that is good advice, and I should like to stick by it. Unfortunately some people do not heed that good advice, and engage not only in political squabbles but also in slanders.

I will now read you our brief, Mr. Chairman.

BRIEF ON IMMIGRATION SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND LABOUR BY THE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE TO AID POLAND, 1129 DUNDAS STREET WEST, TORONTO, JUNE 25, 1946.

Our Committee respectfully urges that the Canadian Government adopt a progressive and intelligent open-door policy on immigration. Canada has been

built up by the immigrants from every country of Europe. And now Canada will gain much and will grow faster by orderly absorption of immigrants from other lands.

A good portion of immigrants came to Canada from Poland. There are 160,000 Canadians of Polish origin. Half of them are engaged in agriculture and the other half belongs to our town and city population, mainly as industrial workers. We are proud to note that the Polish immigrant made a good citizen of Canada. He is industrious, law-abiding, thrifty and enterprising. He helped to build our railways and clear the land for the plow, he is helping to dig the coal and to keep the wheels of industry humming.

Many of the Polish Canadians have made notable contribution to Canada. Here is but a few examples. In agriculture we have a tobacco grower in the Delhi district, who for a number of years has been getting first prizes for his product. His name is F. Buszkiewicz. In Winnipeg there are two outstanding contractors, Mr. A. W. Haag and Mr. L. Radynski, who have built hundreds of homes in that city. In art we note two names: Lt. Bruno Bobak who is a well-known war artist and Mr. Richard Filipowski of Toronto who won first prize in a war poster competition for his Vimy Ridge poster. In music we have a promising young violinist in Miss Alice Kozner of Toronto who won first prize at the Kiwanis Music Festival two years ago. Or take a case of Ignace Brzeski, a worker at the electric firm in St. Catharines, who received many prizes from the company for his inventions while engaged in war work. All of these are members of our organization.

But while we are in favour of normal immigration, we wish to register our emphatic opposition to any plans for bringing political groups into this country. This applies equally to the so-called Displaced Persons in Western Germany and the members of the Polish armed forces in Britain. The reason why these groups are trying to gain admission to Canada is not that they have no homes to go to, but that they refuse to go home. Their refusal to return is said to be based on political grounds. Let us try to imagine any normal Canadian refusing to return home just because he does not agree with the politics of the government in power. The very idea sounds preposterous.

The plight of the Polish troops under British control is indeed a tragic one. For nearly six years some of these men fought in allied ranks. Yet when victory was finally won, they were told by their command that they shall not return home. Political extremists decided to use these troops to further their own political ambitions. These leaders of the pre-war Polish regime for years have tried to poison the hearts of their troops with hate and suspicion towards reborn Poland. They have worked overtime distorting the true picture of the conditions in Poland. And now the results of their work are here for all to see. Troops of every land have returned home. We see French Catholics and Communists jointly shaping the destiny of their country. Similar conditions can be observed in every country of Europe. Only Poland must taste the bitter pills of strife forced upon her by selfish politicians from abroad.

We now have proposals to bring thousands of Polish veterans to work on Canadian sugar beet fields. Is seasonal farm work in Canada to be the only reward that the heroes of Narvik, Tobruk, Monte Casino and Falaise will receive. These troops had never had a chance to freely choose what should seem to be the natural desire and duty of every person. That is what "The New Statesman and Nation of March 2, 1946" had to say in this connection:—

A condition precedent to securing freedom of choice for the Polish troops in Italy would seem to be the early disbandment of the staff of the Second Polish Corps and of General Anders' headquarters at Bari. Until now every effort has been made by the officers of General Anders' army to frighten and dissuade their men from returning to Poland.

There is another very disturbing aspect of the Anders' army. This same British liberal weekly states that this army has nearly doubled since Armistice, and, "that less than a quarter of its members were ever in action on the allied side: and that most of the rest were recruited from prisoners-of-war, captured fighting in the German Army." Canada will only help the political schemers of General Anders type by holding out promises of accepting their followers into Canada.

We therefore urge that the Polish troops in Britain be given every opportunity to decide freely to return to their families and to their country, where they are anxiously awaited and badly needed in the work of reconstruction. And if there be still some irreconcilables, they are hardly the type of immigrants that Canada wants. Economically they would be non-productive. Their openly stated intention is to carry on political struggle from Canada as their next base of operations. We do not need disgruntled reactionary politicians from Europe. We need people who are willing and able to work.

I may add that only last week General Anders in his order of the day solemnly declared that wherever he may go his purpose is to continue to fight for what he calls his kind of free Poland. It can be appreciated what that means. We think therefore that Canada would be helping in this political strife by inviting these groups of people to come here, who say that they are out to fight their own country.

The CHAIRMAN: Would you please explain a little further this statement: "The reason why these groups are trying to gain admission to Canada is not that they have no home to go to, but that they refuse to go home." What do you mean by that?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: Well sir, the previous speaker has made it very plain. He said that Poland is not free; that Poland is Siberia. That is the type of bunk that has been said to the troops for years.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I do not think Mr. Grocholski used the word "Siberia".

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: I think he will bear me out that he did say Siberia. It was in order to find out how much truth there was in that kind of propaganda that some of us went to Poland. Mr. Grocholski and his organization refused to go when we suggested we should go jointly. When we had obtained a passage and had one foot on the ship they said, "We think we will go." They could not make arrangements in a day or two and they missed the boat. It is not a question of the government refusing them, but they refused to go.

The CHAIRMAN: In short, there are as many differences between you as Poles as there are in the rest of the world?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: I am afraid that is true, sir.

The CHAIRMAN: You do not altogether agree with what the previous speaker has said.

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: I was not taken to Siberia, and I saw millions of people in Poland and nobody told me of anyone being whisked away to Siberia. I shared a room with General Monde who came from France. He was not taken to Siberia; he was given a high post. Bishops are also returning. Some people have the audacity to say there is no freedom in Poland. That is slander of the worst kind. I should like to register a strong protest against it.

The CHAIRMAN: Let me read you this paragraph from your brief. It says: "And if there be still some irreconcilables, they are hardly the type of immigrants that Canada wants. Economically they would be non-productive." What do you mean by that?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: I mean they will be mainly professional officers with no trade qualifications and no capital.

The CHAIRMAN: Where would they work if they should come here?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: That is the big question that confronts me. I cannot see how they can be gainfully employed.

The CHAIRMAN: You think they would not fit into the Canadian picture and they would not go to work?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: Well sir, they themselves have stated in the order of the day read to the troops of General Anders last week, on the occasion of their departure for Great Britain that wherever they go they are going to carry on a fight against the present-day Poland.

The CHAIRMAN: Carry on a fight for whom?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: For the overthrow of present conditions.

The CHAIRMAN: For the overthrow of the present democratic conditions?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: That is right.

The CHAIRMAN: And for the reinstatement of what condition?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: The semi-feudal and the semi-fascist government that existed prior and up to 1939; a government which, by the way, had a concentration camp like some of the Hitler camps.

The CHAIRMAN: Do you mean before the war?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: That is correct. There is a camp at Bereza Kartuska where people were sentenced, not by courts but by police.

The CHAIRMAN: Do you mean to say that they were sentenced in Poland before the war?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: Yes, that is correct; there was a camp for political opponents at Bereza Kartuska. That is the type of free Poland these people would like to see restored, and this is the type of Poland the Polish people do not like to go back to. That is the crux of the whole difficulty.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Might I ask you a question? You have recently been to Poland, I understand?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: Yes, sir. I was there seven weeks. I arrived the last of December and left in February.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Is there liberty in Poland to-day as we have it in Canada?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: I would say sir there is more liberty in Poland than there is in Canada. I do not mean to cast any reflections on Canada in any way.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: You say that there is more liberty in Poland than there is in Canada?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: Yes.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Is there a free press in Poland?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: There is a free press since the Roman Catholic Church publishes the newspapers. The opposition parties of Mr. Mikolajczyk are publishing newspapers, and there is not a single paper that is being censored.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Is there any truth in the report that Mr. Mikolajczyk and his supporters are meeting with a good deal of opposition from the Polish government? For instance, is there any truth in the story that the headquarters of Mikolajczyk's organization were raided and closed up?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: I have read some of that stuff, and it is simply ridiculous. For instance, the gentlemen who represent congress are at the present circulating many charges against the Polish government and one charge is that Mikolajczyk's newspapers are printed on poor paper while the government's organs, or the organs of other parties, are printed on good paper. That statement is simply laughable. There is no more difference in the paper than there is in that used by the Journal and the Citizen here in Ottawa. I have these papers in my office in Toronto and I publicly invite everybody to come in and examine the quality of the paper.

Yet such a silly charge is being circulated as a grave accusation against the Polish government.

Now insofar as the raid on the headquarters is concerned, this is a fact. Some of the members of Mikolajczyk's party also took part in underground and terroristic activities, and when evidence came to light a search was made in the headquarters and illegal literature as well as a mimeograph machine was discovered. The facts were published and the illegal literature circulated in Warsaw was found at the headquarters. Only one person was arrested as a result of that raid. There is, unfortunately, some strife in Poland fomented by those who would like to restore the power of the pre-war regime.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: There are two political parties?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: Two political blocs.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: We have a little strife here too, you know.

The CHAIRMAN: What is the relative strength of the religious factions, say between the Catholic and Protestant, there?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: The Protestants are an insignificant minority in Poland. The Roman Catholic Church is a very dominant factor and it is strong and influential. It is free to carry on its activities. I have had many conversations and interviews with bishops and I have published extensive material.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Are the Protestants free to carry on their worship?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: They are. They were restricted before the war, but they have complete religious freedom at the present time. The Roman Catholic Church as well as all organizations in Poland in the main are supporting the government because it is the only thing for them to do. The country has been destroyed and it is the obvious duty of everyone to go to work and try to bring order out of chaos. The dominant feeling in Poland is anti-German. The Roman Catholic clergy for instance numbered 40,000; 10,000 of that number were murdered by the Nazis. Therefore, the Roman Catholic Church, as well as the whole Polish nation, has a common aim: it does not want any more aggression from Germany. It has paid too dearly for the last one.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Prior to the war, if I am correctly informed, there was a very considerable opposition in Poland to both Germany and Russia. Does that still obtain?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: That situation of course has been true, and to some extent it is still there. Of course the right wingers are carrying on an anti-Soviet drive. That is illegal; it is underground, and is part of the terroristic gossip and slander and other campaigns.

The CHAIRMAN: What is the sentiment of that part of Poland taken over by Russia?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: I have not visited that part of Poland, that is east of the present Polish border. I cannot speak for them. I can only say that I have met many trains bringing refugees from Russia who are supposed to have been murdered there in Siberia by the millions, and they are by the millions returning. They have no bitterness against Soviet Russia. The country has made them refugees and they are returning home at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN: Returning to where?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: Returning to Poland.

The CHAIRMAN: To the part of Poland taken over by Russia or to the other part?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: To Poland proper.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: Did you have absolute freedom of movement all the time you were in Poland?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: Yes sir, I had absolute freedom of movement.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: You could go around by yourself?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of course was anxious to supply guides, and we accepted their services for some time, but then we decided that we wanted to be completely free and we went on our own. We visited villages and slept with peasants and we had complete freedom of movement.

The CHAIRMAN: Freedom of movement as a Canadian?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: Nobody checked my papers and nobody checked anybody else's papers. There is so much freedom in Poland at present that I am afraid it is working to the disadvantage of the government of the day, but it is impossible to organize governmental machinery and introduce a check-up. For instance, half of the Polish people have no documents of any kind; those documents have been burned or lost as a result of the war. There is no government at present that can introduce a proper check-up system, with documents and so on; that will take time.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: If the representatives of the other Polish organizations were allowed in Poland would they be given absolute freedom of movement?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: Yes, sir, they would be. I substantiate this by reference to the American delegation, five men from Chicago and Detroit, who went there. One of them was Bishop Woznicki. They spent some months there and had just as much freedom as they would have in Canada.

The CHAIRMAN: Would the previous speaker have had freedom of movement?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: He certainly would have had. I was amazed that they rejected our proposal that we go jointly and investigate and bring back a joint report to the Polish people; but they thought it would be more to their advantage to continue their slander of Siberia by not going there.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: I am a newspaper publisher and I would like to be informed a little more about the freedom of the press. Do you say any newspaper in Poland could criticize the conduct of the present government there and be allowed to get away with it?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: Well, sir, the Mikolajczyk papers and the Roman Catholic papers are criticizing the government very severely, and still are being published without censorship.

Hon. Mr. MOLLOY: Is the present government in Poland friendly or unfriendly to Russia?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: It is very friendly to Russia, of course. That has been advocated by all the Democratic, Peasant and Socialist parties that comprise the present Polish government.

The CHAIRMAN: Friendly by desire or by compulsion?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: Well, sir, we are a next-door neighbour to America and we are friendly, I think, by desire. It is our mutual advantage, and I think that works in the private lives as well as in international relations. Poland has everything to gain by living in friendly relations with its neighbours.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: It is very interesting to hear about Poland, but the fact is that we are a committee studying the domestic problem of immigration. Now, if we leave out the Polish soldiers and the refugees, is there any place from which we can secure immigrants of Polish origin for Canada?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: I think sir, that in the near future conditions will be normal, and I can assure you that inhabitants of Europe will be happy to come here. Canada is held in very high esteem all over Poland, in the highest of esteem.

Hon. Mr. ROEBECK: Would the Polish government allow anybody to leave Poland now to come as an immigrant to Canada?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: That I cannot answer, sir. I have never inquired about it and I cannot say.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I for one admire the Polish people, and in looking for immigrants I regard people of Polish origin with great favour. Where can we obtain immigrants of that character?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: Well, I believe the situation will be adjusted when times become normal.

Hon. Mr. ROBINSON: For the present you would not advocate Polish immigration to Canada?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: No, sir, I did not say so. I stated in my brief that we are for bringing normal immigrants into Canada.

The CHAIRMAN: Normal immigrants?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: Yes, people who can be integrated into our normal life.

The CHAIRMAN: What would you say about all those stranded Polish soldiers in Scotland and England? If arrangements could be made, would they be suitable immigrants to bring into Canada?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: I have stated before, sir, that I am very doubtful on that point. The majority of them are returning to Poland. Those who are remaining behind, I am afraid, are too deeply in politics and too far away from real life to be of practical advantage to Canada.

The CHAIRMAN: What do you mean by "too deeply in politics"? What kind of politics?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: Well, sir, I would refer you to the interviews that these officers give from time to time. I read one recently in the Toronto Evening Telegram, where the man interviewed said their only aim in life was to struggle to change the system inside of Poland.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: If some of those Polish soldiers were admitted to Canada, they might have a different view? They are people of pretty good character?

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Some of them were here before.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Yes. If a Polish soldier of that kind came to Canada, and his mother and father and perhaps a sister were in Poland and wanted to join him in Canada, would the Polish government let them come?

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: I do not see how the Polish government could stand in the way of such family reunions.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: They might stand in the way by not giving permission to leave Poland.

Mr. DUTKIEWICZ: I cannot answer for the Polish government, sir.

Mr. GROCHOLSKI: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Dutkiewicz stated we were to apply and get some vizas to Poland. There was no Polish representative in Canada, so we applied to the Polish legation at Washington, which notified us that they had to refer our application to the External Affairs Department in Poland, before vizas could be granted to us. We have not received any vizas.

The CHAIRMAN: What about the other gentlemen?

Mr. GROCHOLSKI: They got theirs within forty-eight hours from Washington.

The CHAIRMAN: How do you account for that?

Mr. GROCHOLSKI: Perhaps, sir, they are politically of the same mind as the present government in Poland.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Chairman, the next on our list is Mr. Gorowski, representing the Associated Poles of Canada.

Mr. JOHN GOROWSKI, representing the Associated Poles of Canada, then appeared as a witness.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: The headquarters of your society are in Winnipeg, are they not?

Mr. GOROWSKI: Yes.

The CHAIRMAN: Do you live in Winnipeg?

Mr. GOROWSKI: No, I live in Ottawa at the present time.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: The president, I think, is Mr. Peter Taraska?

Mr. GOROWSKI: Yes.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: He is a member of the School Board of Winnipeg?

Mr. GOROWSKI: Yes.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: He is a very prominent barrister there?

Mr. GOROWSKI: Very prominent.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: He has nominated you to appear here on behalf of the Associated Poles of Canada?

Mr. GOROWSKI: Yes.

The CHAIRMAN: Will you proceed, please?

Mr. GOROWSKI: Mr. Chairman, honourable gentlemen of the committee, before I present my brief I would like to make a few remarks on the brief of Mr. Dutkiewicz, the previous speaker. I would like to quote from a great English poet:

“Be not the first by whom the new are tried,
Nor yet the last to lay the old aside.”

Hitler tried to impose the new order in Poland, but the Poles resisted, and now we have a large number of Poles who are out of Poland and who do not intend to be the first to try the new democracy.

Speaking about censorship, I can say that, if not all, the majority of the letters that come to Canada from Poland are censored. That can be proved.

I would like to make a remark as to Senator Roebuck's introduction of Mr. Dutkiewicz. It was stated that his is the second largest organization of Poles in Canada.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I was not too sure about that.

Mr. GOROWSKI: I would like to state—and Mr. Grocholski and others can bear me out—that his organization does not represent more than 5 per cent of the Polish people in Canada.

The CHAIRMAN: Five per cent would be about how many?

Mr. GOROWSKI: About five thousand.

BRIEF SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION
ON JUNE 25TH, 1946, AT OTTAWA, ON BEHALF OF THE
ASSOCIATED POLES OF CANADA, WINNIPEG,
MANITOBA, BY JOHN F. GOROWSKI

Mr. Chairman and Honourable Members of the Committee.

I wish to thank you for extending an invitation to the Associated Poles of Canada, whom I have the privilege to represent, to this hearing on the important subject of immigration.

Immigration was and is of prime importance to Canada. In war and in peace it is a subject which is continually discussed in private conversations as well as in public gatherings. The reason for this is obvious. Canada is a young and vigorous nation. Young and restless, with eyes fixed on distant horizons, with visions of a great and glorious future. We have vast tracts

of land and—to use an oft repeated phrase—limitless natural resources. Canada's natural resources have scarcely been touched.

However, there is certainly a limit to what even a young and vigorous nation can do. Canada has reason to be proud of her accomplishments in the past and even more so in recent times. Our contribution to the common cause during the years of war requires no comment. We have done a magnificent job, but would it be safe to conclude therefrom that we could have done much more? Perhaps, but how much more? The answer is simple. Manpower shortage. During the war years this was the most acute shortage. Boys and girls in their early teens were employed to relieve this situation. Even today we are engaging prisoners of war on various projects.

How can we hope for industrial and commercial expansion without an appreciable increase in our population? Our natural growth is not sufficient. The only possible answer is immigration. I do not mean indiscriminate haphazard immigration, but planned immigration and that on a large scale. We need farmers, loggers, foresters, miners, industrial workers, skilled technicians, tradesmen, artisans. In one word men skilled in every trade and occupation and men in every walk of life.

During the early years of the century there was a great expansion in agriculture, but the East developed at a much swifter pace. Strange as it may seem the East absorbed most of the immigrants and these found work not in primary or extractive industries but for the most part in secondary industries. They brought about the birth of Canada's industrial age, for it was the availability of labour, combined with vast resources, which attracted capital to this country.

It is erroneous to argue that an increase in population through immigration would create unemployment. A rise in our population would stimulate and expand our industry, commerce and agriculture. New towns would spring up along the great empty spaces through which our railroads travel.

It is not a matter of sharing with others the little we have but rather of permitting others to share in the wealth which they themselves will help to create.

Immigration has always proved a boon, not a threat to labour. In a sparsely settled country rich in resources an increase in the supply of labour does not increase competition among workers and lower wages because other factors enter the situation—factors which tend to increase available employment faster than the supply of labour increases.

Periods of heaviest immigration in our history were times of rising wages, whereas times when immigration was low were accompanied by a tendency toward stagnant or declining wages. Wages are paid out of production, so that immigration, which increases the volume of production, tends to increase the earnings of labour.

It is detrimental to ourselves to keep this vast country with its immense potentialities to ourselves. We cannot develop nor properly utilize the natural resources with which nature has endowed us.

I am speaking on behalf of the Associated Poles of Canada, an association of all Polish Catholic groups in Canada, both clergy and laity, and I would like to say a few words about Poles in Canada.

Apart from several isolated instances, the great majority of Polish immigrants to Canada in the past were those who sought to improve their material well-being and Canada was a land of opportunity. The first large group arrived around the year 1860 and settled about 100 miles west of Ottawa. They established the first Polish agricultural colony in Wilno and built the first Polish church in Canada in 1872. Today, there are thriving Polish-Canadian communities in Wilno and nearby Barry's Bay.

Some ten years later the Poles started to penetrate farther west. Following the iron threads of the railroad, in the building of which many of them were employed, they reached Winnipeg and the Prairie Provinces. These travellers and railroad builders were mainly farmers and at every opportunity they settled

on the land which stretched as far as the eye could see. In this way they established a number of small settlements and in time with the influx of relatives and friends the Canadian prairies were dotted with Polish communities. Before the turn of the century most of the present Polish settlements in the west were already established. Winnipeg became in fact a gateway to the west and the Polish community there grew steadily larger.

The Polish people are predominantly Catholic. As their numbers increased it became more difficult to attend to their spiritual needs because of the language barrier. The Poles in Winnipeg decided to organize their own parish and build a church which was completed in 1897. This was a very important event for the Poles in the west. The Holy Ghost Church became the centre of Polish activity and a place where they could turn for advice and guidance. Today, the Holy Ghost Church boasts a parish high school, with a complete Polish teaching staff, approved by and under the jurisdiction of the Winnipeg School Board.

Succeeding years brought increased immigration not only of farmers but of artisans and miners bolstering western settlements and creating new communities in rural and industrial centres in Ontario and Quebec. The first World War also caused a certain amount of migration from the west to the east.

The second period of Polish immigration began immediately after 1918 when settlements and numerous organizations, both church and secular, were established. These new arrivals coming from a free Poland were different than the first. They preferred the cities and sought employment in industry. There are now in Canada numerous cultural, fraternal and benevolent organizations and more than 60 Polish Roman Catholic parishes, the latter grouped within the Associated Poles of Canada.

I do not intend to burden you with too many details on this topic. Canadian Poles are law-abiding and loyal citizens of Canada. They are industrious, self-reliant and resourceful. We have our Sir Casimir Gzowski, builder of the International Bridge at Niagara Falls and one of the founders of the Canadian Engineering Institute. We have our professional men and women, as well as businessmen. Young Canadians of every racial origin in rural and urban schools are being taught by Polish-Canadian teachers, and young Polish Canadians fill our halls of learning. During the six-year global struggle between tyranny and liberty, Canadians of Polish descent unhesitatingly flocked to the colours to defend the Canadian way of life. Many paid the supreme sacrifice. May I be permitted to quote from a message by our Prime Minister to Poles in Canada in 1943:

"Much has been contributed to Canada's development by Canadians of Polish origin. Today, Poles in Canada are making an exceptionally fine contribution to the war effort of the United Nations."

The Canadian Pole is not spectacular but he does his job faithfully and well. His documents are the railroads and bridges that span the continent, the smoke from a factory or steel-mill chimney, the airplanes streaking across the heavens, the logs surging down a turbulent river, the ears of grain swaying on the Canadian prairies, the children playing in the schoolyard and the midnight mass in his parish church.

These are the Canadians of Polish descent who came to this country seeking in the main freedom from want.

Now, we have the rare opportunity of accepting their kin who not only seek, but have suffered and fought for the FOUR FREEDOMS. No amount of slander and falsehood could tarnish the names of the Defenders of Warsaw or slave-labourers deported to Germany and now numbered among the displaced persons, nor the honour of the Polish soldiers, sailors and airmen who fought from the first to the last day of the war on land, on sea and in the air. Their record is one of fidelity and unswerving devotion to duty. Their loyalty to the

allied cause which is democracy's cause is beyond question. We could scarcely demand more loyalty from any prospective new citizen.

I previously mentioned that we need immigrants of various occupations and trades. These Poles should make excellent candidates for this purpose. They come from all walks of life. Among them are scientists, professors, engineers, technicians, mechanics, miners, artisans, skilled workers of every kind, farmers, and so forth. Each can bring his particular knowledge, experience and skill to Canada's benefit. The opportunity is a magnificent one. If we act promptly, we can attract the cream of the crop.

Let us not say: immigration, but not in our time. Let us brighten the future of those whose future is barren of opportunity. Canada, along with her allies, poured out blood and treasure to establish freedom throughout the world. A moral obligation rests upon us to admit those who want to make a fresh start in this rich untroubled land. Let us extend a helping hand to the homeless and say to them: Come and share our home with us.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That is a splendid document.

The CHAIRMAN: Yes. I thank you, Mr. Gorowski.

Who is the next gentlemen?

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I should like to call on the Honourable Victor Podoski. He is very well known to most of us here. For a number of years he represented Poland as Minister Plenipotentiary, and I and others had the pleasure of enjoying his hospitality. He will speak about the Polish armed forces in Great Britain and elsewhere.

Hon. Mr. PODOSKI: Mr. Chairman and honourable senators, I thank you for this opportunity of addressing your committee. Incidentally, I have ceased to be the Polish Minister to Canada.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I may say that I wrote the present Polish Minister and told him what was going on and extended to him the courtesy of appearing before the committee. I hope my letter was delivered to him but I have not had a reply.

Hon. Mr. PODOSKI: I am now a private citizen but I have the privilege of appearing before this committee with full powers from the Committee of Polish Professional and Trade Associations comprising, as Senator Roebuck has mentioned, twenty different organizations with headquarters in London, England, some with branches or members in Canada. The committee was organized in England last year by the Association of Polish Technicians which has a national branch and local branches in several cities of the Dominion. I was one of the founders and the first president of the Association of Polish Foreign Service Officers and Clerks. I was also a member of the Committee of the Polish Civil Service outside of Poland.

About twenty months ago I was called back to London from Ottawa when I ceased to be the Polish Minister here, and I was appointed to the Polish Foreign Ministry in charge of Polish affairs in the Western Hemisphere. During my stay in the United Kingdom I became associated with several Polish (and British) professional organizations.

Those who have preceded me as witnesses before this committee have ably presented the case of our countrymen. They discussed (a) pre-war Polish immigration, (b) wartime immigration, and (c) prospective post-war immigration. I should like to add a few facts and figures concerning these three groups.

(a) Our pre-war immigration, as Mr. Grocholski has explained, numbered about 170,000 men and women. Probably 85 per cent of them are Canadian citizens to-day. From my own experience I may add that those immigrants have become good Canadian citizens or residents. During the war, when I visited the several provinces of this Dominion, I was very proud to realize that

there was not a single Canadian Pole of military age whom I could meet: all such Poles were serving in the Canadian army, navy or air force. From the Atlantic coast to the Pacific I did not come across in the Polish communities a single young man of military age. So when the Polish camps were opened by General Sikorski at Windsor and Owen Sound, Ontario, in 1942 only few very young Canadian Poles could enlist.

The Canadian Poles have two loyalties, which I think can easily be reconciled. Canadian Poles have a natural affection for the country of their origin or of the origin of their forefathers; they also have full loyalty and affection for the country of their adoption. By way of illustration may I cite the dual loyalties of a young married woman. She marries into another family, acquires a new name, and naturally has affection for her husband and for her new home; but she would be a very poor wife, and surely would be so considered by her husband, if she lost her love for her mother and father and her parental home. Similarly, I think the Canadian Poles have a dual loyalty—their loyalty to Poland and their loyalty to Canada, and the two can be merged in a happy combination.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: If I may interrupt, Mr. Podoski? I do not suppose the Polish people in that regard are any different from British immigrants.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: And the Scotch.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: We have the same loyalty to Canada, but we have not forgotten the culture and history of our own particular motherland, Great Britain. In that respect the Poles are not different from ourselves.

Hon. Mr. PODOSKI: I know a little about wartime immigration because I was first Consul General and then Minister, and was instrumental in persuading Senator Crerar, then Minister of Mines and Resources, and Mr. Blair and Mr. Jolliffe, who worked under him in the Department of Immigration, to admit a certain number of Polish refugees into Canada at a time when it was very difficult to get homes for them anywhere.

Nine hundred men and women were admitted from 1941 until 1943, and some in 1944. In that group there were about 50 per cent "muscles" and 50 per cent "brains"—that is physical workers and intellectual workers. The percentage of intellectual workers had greatly increased because the reasons for the immigration, as compared with prewar reasons, were different. These people, particularly the intelligentsia class, had to leave their homes fearing that they would fall into the hands of the enemy. They first went to France and during the catastrophe of 1940 again avoided the enemy trap. Of the nine hundred men and women admitted into Canada 550 were industrial workers. Of these 220 were members of the Association of Polish Technicians, the remaining 330 being skilled labourers and otherwise. They brought with them new ideas, new methods and new skills.

In addition to the technicians there were several doctors, among them Dr. D. Berger, the famous radiologist and specialist in the treatment of cancer. There were several artists, including Rafal Malczewski, a painter who was at one time employed by the C.N.R. and in turn by the C.P.R. He has painted something just short of 300 Canadian landscapes. Some of them have been purchased by persons in the U.K. and U.S.A. There was also Michael Choromanski, the Polish author, some of whose books were translated into ten languages, including Japanese. His wife, Ruth Sorel-Choromanski, now in Montreal, is a professional teacher of expressionist dancing. There was also Adelina Czapska former prima donna of the Warsaw Opera. There were more men and women of this type.

Speaking again of the technicians, because they represented the largest group, may I suggest that, in addition to the new skills and new methods which they brought with them, those who were university graduates brought with them about \$15,000 to \$20,000 worth of education and technical training.

I have here a photostatic copy of a letter written by the Honourable C. D. Howe to Mr. Anthony Rosciszewski concerning his invention of a training rifle. The letter is dated August 12, 1943, and reads as follows:—

I have been informed by Col. M. P. Jolley of the part you played in the development of the Long Branch Training Rifle and I would like to express my personal appreciation of the success attending this development work and the contribution which you made thereto. It is extremely gratifying to note that these Training Rifles will not only be supplied in quantity but also at such a low cost in comparison with similar rifles produced elsewhere.

Please accept my congratulations and thanks.

I have here a paper prepared last December by R. J. Herget, Personnel Officer of the Wartime Bureau of Technical Personnel, Department of Labour, Ottawa, for Mr. Jolliffe, the Director of Immigration. It deals with the activities of engineers and scientists who have come here as war refugees. I wonder, Mr. Chairman, if you would have the paper tabled as an appendix to the report on this meeting? It would save you the necessity of listening to all the details. On this occasion, I would only mention that the Polish war refugees in Canada have established five entirely new industries, six factories, five machine shops—giving employment to hundreds of Canadians. They opened evening courses in welding, thus raising the skill and earning capacity of a host of Canadian workers. They enriched the teaching staffs of Canadian universities with five professors. They obtained 35 patents, the materialization of which will create many new employments.

I should now like to speak of (c) prospective post-war immigration. May I suggest that there is a large reservoir of Polish men, and some women, who upon admission would become valuable Canadian citizens. On the basis of prewar and wartime immigration, I think the chances are that post-war immigration will prove as successful and useful to Canada as that of previous years. This reservoir of prospective Polish immigrants reaches to-day figures surpassing those of the total population of the province of Manitoba, or about 740,000 men and women. By adding to that number some of the families, now in Poland, if they are allowed to join them, you will have a population equal to the total population of the province of Alberta or something approaching 800,000.

This reservoir of Poles desirous of admission to Canada is composed of three groups. The first group comprises members of the armed forces and their families. The second group represents the displaced persons and also prisoners of war in the former German camps who were members of the Polish forces captured by the Germans in 1939 and in 1944, after the surrender of the 63-day Battle of Warsaw. They are still in camps in Germany. The third group is composed of civilians, men and women of different trades and professions, now in the United Kingdom and other parts of the British Empire, as well as some in other countries like France, Germany and Italy, Belgium, Holland and so on.

Let me speak of and for the first group: the Polish armed forces. Towards the end of 1945 there were 220,000 men and some women in the Polish armed forces. Of that number 110,000 were in Italy under General Anders. Twenty thousand were in the Polish Armoured Division which fought under General Crerar, and later was transferred to the British command. About 4,000 of these men are married to Scottish, English and Welsh girls. Many have children. This group comprises mostly men of military age, therefore young men. There are also some, especially among officers, whose age is slightly advanced; but they constitute a comparatively small percentage. There are also invalids—men who lost arms, eyes, legs or their health in general. These are represented by one of the twenty organizations which I have mentioned.

The soldiers, sailors and airmen, also the girls in uniform, present a good cross section of the population of Poland. Every profession is represented.

About 60 per cent are farmers by profession. Many of them have acquired skills in the mechanical field, especially those who went through special training in artillery, armoured cars, aircraft, etc. They have acquired mechanical skill in addition to their farming skill. Some of them are professional soldiers, many are technicians, radio operators, mechanics, miners, craftsmen etc. A number of agricultural labourers are skilled in beet-root farming, which I understand requires a special skill. These people fought during the entire war; they were the first to fight commencing in September of 1939, and they fought incessantly.

After the end of the Polish campaign many of these boys went to France, being smuggled through by different routes; and many who had been outside Poland joined them, and in the summer of 1940 General Sikorski had under his command a fresh fighting force of 92,000 men. Following the Polish campaign all those Polish soldiers served exclusively under French, British or Canadian command. May I suggest, therefore, that every Polish soldier who fell on the field of battle saved the life of a French or a British or a Canadian soldier. Similarly, every Polish soldier who lost an eye, an arm or a leg, saved an eye, an arm or a leg of a French, British or Canadian comrade.

Those boys who fought from the beginning, incessantly, in every theatre of war—on the land, on the sea and in the air—have now found themselves in a position much inferior to that of the soldiers of any other nation, including those of the enemy. Even German prisoners of war can return to their own country and be rehabilitated, while the majority of those Polish soldiers, for reasons which I am not going to discuss, feel they cannot return to their homes. The British Government gave each one of them an opportunity to decide, by plebiscite, whether they would return to Poland or not.

They fought longer than the soldiers of any other country, and they represent the only invaded country which produced no collaborator with the enemy. To-day they feel bitter at the way fate has treated them, as they expected that their most gallant, loyal and continuous service should have procured for them a better future, if not a position of priority.

May I now quote some figures given in the British House of Commons. They may answer some of the questions asked and some doubts raised.

On June 19 Mr. Lawson, the Secretary of War, stated that on April the 30th there still were 195,000 Polish troops who had not decided to return to Poland.

On May 5 Mr. Bellinger, Financial Under Secretary of the War Office, answering a question by Mr. Osborne, M.P., stated that, after the Foreign Secretary's declaration to the Polish troops, 3,500 Poles in Italy registered their readiness to return, but of that number 2,301 had since changed their minds and decided not to return. I am not going into a discussion of what this means; I am simply quoting dates and figures, all from British sources.

Here is an important point. Among the Polish troops outside Poland there were and are today a certain number who at one time were members of the German army, the Wehrmacht, or of the Todt war labour organizations. Speaking in the British House of Commons on June 9, in answer to Mr. Pritt, M.P., Mr. Lawson said:—

These Poles were forcibly incorporated into the Wehrmacht or the Todt organizations. On numerous occasions they took the first opportunity to escape across the front lines to the Allies, volunteered for service in the Polish Army and gallantly fought on our side.

On June 5, in answer to a question by Mr. Beamish, M.P., Mr. Lawson said that 68,693 Poles in German uniform had been captured or had surrendered. Though many were unfit to fight, of that number 53,630 were incorporated into the Polish Army under British command, after having been carefully examined in each individual case by the British Army authorities. Some 14,000 have

been repatriated to Poland or are awaiting repatriation. Only 944 of those Poles who were in German uniform are kept in prisoner of war camps. These, I understand, are Polandized Germans or Germanized Poles who settled in western Poland.

May I further quote an article that appeared in the Detroit *Free Press* and was reprinted in the Montreal *Gazette* of Friday, June 7, this year? It reads as follows:—

The 110,000 Poles who have been serving in Italy are to be demobilized in Britain, where they will establish themselves rather than return to Poland.

That is a big increment of foreign-born for an island whose people are notably homogeneous. Such an infusion may make changes in the ways and outlook of the place, just as large groups of newcomers put their imprint upon the United States.

If that is to be the case, Britain can look toward this country and be pleased that their big new slice of population is Polish. For Poles have given this Republic much in leadership, diligence and loyalty.

The second category in that reservoir of Poles who are willing to come to Canada comprises displaced persons and prisoners of war in ex-German camps. In a report of the World Council of Churches, dated December 28, 1945, it was stated that there were 620,000 Polish displaced persons. They, too, are free, either to return to Poland or to remain outside Poland. The plebiscite to ascertain their wishes is held under Allied control, and there is no pressure upon them. In the plebiscite held in May in four camps—at Gottingen, Leinekanal, Moringen and Hann-Munden, the result showed 13 per cent willing to return to Poland.

Most of the displaced persons are under forty years of age. They were forcibly deported by the Germans to do heavy work; aged people would not have been taken for this purpose. Women represent 27 per cent and children 18 per cent. Again some 60 per cent of them are farmers. Industrial workers make up 25 per cent, the professions and trades are represented by 10 per cent, and the white-collar trades, including technicians, 5 per cent.

While the Polish soldiers will probably have between \$200 and \$250 per capita, those in the category of displaced persons and prisoners of war have, naturally, no funds. But on February 13 at the UNO Assembly in London it was put on record that "the problem of displaced persons is international in scope and nature". It was also stated that "the future of such refugees or displaced persons shall become the concern of whatever international body may be recognized or established". I mention this because, although these people have no funds of their own, apparently the UNO is concerning itself with this matter.

The third category in that reservoir of Poles comprises civilians and war refugees. About 20,000 of them are in the United Kingdom and about 50,000 outside the United Kingdom, some 70,000 in all. They are not members of the armed forces, nor displaced persons or prisoners of war, but some of them are soldiers' families. The 20,000 in the United Kingdom would probably have about \$500 per capita. I do not know how much those outside the British Isles would have.

Probably a further number of members of the Polish armed forces, say 15,000 out of the 195,000, will decide to return to present Poland, thus leaving about 180,000. Then there would probably remain some 500,000 displaced persons and former prisoners of war, and about 60,000 civilians, including soldiers' families.

May I now refer to what was previously said about the wives in Poland who are eagerly awaiting the return of their husbands. I think that everyone has the right and for reasons of his own, to decide his own fate. If then the husbands cannot join their wives, perhaps the wives will be permitted to join their husbands, so that families may be reunited.

We have heard a remark made in this committee that the men who are unwilling to return to Poland are "lazy", that is reluctant to go to the hard work of rebuilding their war-torn country. May I suggest that men who were not "lazy" to suffer and die for their country would not be "lazy" to live and toil for it. Surely laziness is not the reason they do not return to their home land. The Polish nation has been always a lover of freedom. Canada for the Poles is a country where individual freedom and respect for the human being is enjoyed in a much higher degree than in most other countries of the world. This is the reason so many of my countrymen aspire to be admitted to Canada—in order that they may become good and loyal residents and citizens, at the same time not forgetful of their motherland. Thus they—just like the prewar and wartime immigrants—would form a natural link between the country of their birth and the country of their adoption.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman and honourable gentlemen, for giving me this opportunity to present before you the case of my countryman.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I thank you, Mr. Podoski, for the splendid fund of information which you have furnished to the committee.

Someone has sent me a clipping from the *New York Times* of May 21, 1946, headed "795 Immigrants Reach United States Haven, First Under Truman's Alien Order." This is the paragraph:—

795 of these were aliens entering under quota visas issued after intensive efforts by six Federal agencies operating here and in Europe. All the immigrants were screened and cleared by the Army's Counter-Intelligence Corps before embarking.

One of the pictures illustrating the article shows three of the immigrants with numbers tattooed on their arms, they having been at one time confined in the Oswiecim concentration camp while in the custody of the Nazis. The Germans did not tattoo the collaborators—those who fought with them. This news item indicates what is going on in the country to the south of us. Whether any further groups of immigrants have been admitted since I do not know.

I desire to put on record the following letter:—

OTTAWA, June 19, 1946.

Dr. ALFRED FIDERKIEWICZ,
Minister from Poland,
Room 75,
Windsor Hotel,
Ottawa, Ontario,

DEAR DR. FIDERKIEWICZ, you have no doubt observed from the Press that a Senate Committee is inquiring into the subject of Canadian Immigration. This is a domestic matter so far as Canada is concerned, but nevertheless, it may be, of some interest to you. Also of interest to you, I assume is the fact that Canadians of Polish extraction will make representations to this Committee on the morning of Tuesday, June the 25th, commencing at 10:30 a.m., in room 368, in the Parliament Buildings, Ottawa.

Invitations to address the Committee have been accepted by Mr. J. S. W. Grocholski, President of the Canadian Polish Congress, Mr. Peter Taraska, of Winnipeg, representing the Associated Poles of Canada, and Mr. Dutkiewicz, General Secretary of the Democratic Committee

to Aid Poland. The Honourable Victor Podoski, of Ottawa, will also speak on behalf of a number of Societies interested in Polish veterans in England and elsewhere.

The Committee would be honoured by your presence if you are sufficiently interested and would care to attend. I am authorized to extend you an invitation to be present, and, although this is a domestic matter, I am sure the Committee would be glad to hear a few words from you should you feel so disposed.

I have the honour, Sir, to be

Respectfully yours,

A. W. ROEBUCK.

I hope the letter was delivered, but I have not yet had an acknowledgement. This will make it perfectly clear that we have had no intention of ignoring the Government of Poland.

The committee adjourned until 10.30 tomorrow morning.

APPENDIX

Prepared by R. J. Herget, Personnel Officer, Wartime Bureau of Technical Personnel, Department of Labour, Ottawa.

Activities of foreign Engineers and Scientists (War Refugees) in the Canadian Industrial and superior teaching fields.

POLISH

1. NEW INDUSTRIES ESTABLISHED IN CANADA ON POLISH SPECIALISTS' INITIATIVE (FIVE)

J. LIFSZYC—Chemist, expert and specialist in glucose and starch:

Pacific Glucose Refinery Ltd., New Westminster, B.C. This industry was established in 1941 thanks to Mr. Lifszyc. It is stated to be the first factory on the American continent processing glucose from potatoes.

By using any kind and size of potato they have solved the many years old problem of the B.C. farmers of getting rid of their waste products and surplus crops. The potato glucose they are turning out is taken by many food industries such as bakeries, ice cream manufacturers, soft drink plants, etc. and is used in place of sugar. Consequently it has helped these industries to maintain and even to increase their production in spite of sugar shortage.

After they did some research and experimental work on wheat glucose, using off-grade wheat as raw material, their affiliated company, the Western Chemurgy Ltd., started the erection of a glucose factory in Moose Jaw, Sask., under the direction of Mr. Lifszyc. This plant has been operating since 1945 and is the first plant in Canada processing glucose from wheat.

M. M. ROSTEN—Chemist:

The first alcohol plant on this continent has been built by Mr. Rosten for the Ontario Paper Company, Limited. It is the first successful plant in North America to procure alcohol from waste sulphite liquor and the plant is probably the most modern of its kind in the world. Canada, therefore, pioneers this development on this continent.

In addition to providing industrial alcohol for synthetic rubber and other uses, this unit is serving to point the way toward economic utilization of one of the continent's greatest industrial wastes.

Mr. Rosten for the last 3 years has been and still is a Technical Advisor to the United States Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

W. BRZOZOWSKI—M. Sc. (Mechanical Engineering):

He won the competition held by the Cargo Incorporated in U.S.A. for design of a Helicopter. As result, Jet Helicopter Corporation in the United States and Jet Helicopter Registered in Canada have been set up to develop a flying proto-type and to organize for mass production of these aircraft.

Mr. Brzozowski hopes that the fabrication of the proto-type can be undertaken by a Canadian firm so that the first flight tests will be made in this country.

It is obvious that successful tests of such a revolutionary type of helicopter would magnify greatly the importance of Canada's contribution to aviation.

A. SZWARC—D. Sc. (Chemistry):

For the past three years his work with the Allied War Supplies Corporation involved research and development of substitutes for natural resins used in ammunition, cements, varnish, paints and adhesives.

Included in this category, successfully developed and accepted by the Inspection Board of the U.K. and Canada, are:—

- (a) Adhesive Composition—used in Canadian Ammunition Program.
- (b) Shellac Substitute I.G.—used in war for felt (when shellac was not available). Used in C.N.R. Paint Program 50,000 gallons a year for floor paint.
- (c) Copel Varnish Substitute I.G. 539—used in Canadian Ammunition Program when Copel Varnish was not available.
- (d) Cement No. 1—I.G. 402—used in Canadian Ammunition Program.
- (e) Cement Composition an.1—used in Canadian Ammunition Program.

For the Canadian National Railway prepared:

- (a) Paint Specification for Passenger Cars.
- (b) Paint Specification for Freight Cars.
- (c) Paint Specification for Bridges.
- (d) Floor Paint.
- (e) Anti-Rust Composition.
- (f) Anti-Rust Grease.

Has changed the paint application from eleven coats to four coats, with three times greater durability.

For the past several months his work with the Howard Smith Paper Mills involved research and development for paper converting and the preparation of coatings and adhesives—special converted paper now imported to Canada:

- (a) Building Paper.
- (b) Laminate Paper.
- (c) Insulating Paper.
- (d) Fireproof Paper.
- (e) Food Wrappers.
- (f) Tape.

2. FACTORIES (SIX) AND MACHINE SHOPS (FIVE) ESTABLISHED BY POLISH ENGINEERS.

Canadian Wooden Aircraft Ltd., Toronto, was set up in 1942 by Dr. H. Stycolt who became its President. The factory is producing wooden parts for aircraft.

The production is based on a special method of moulding big surfaces of plywood. This method was invented by Mr. W. Czerwinski, the technical manager of the plant. The factory employs some 400 men.

Pacific Pine Co. Ltd., Lumber Mills, New Westminster, B.C. This company was established in 1941 by P. Heller, a Polish mechanical engineer. He and his brother are the main shareholders. The capital used to start the business was brought to Canada by the shareholders. They bought two sawmills in very poor shape with a total production of 80,000 ft. b.m. of lumber per day. The mills were improved and the production increased to the level of about 160,000 ft. per day. They are employing 135 men and the number will be further increased after completing improvements and installing new machinery.

The Wool Combing Corporation of Canada Ltd., Toronto, was organized in 1940 by K. L. Markon, a Polish textile industrialist, on the request of the Wool Administrator.

Mr. Markon is co-owner and General Manager of this company, which scours and combs imported and domestic wool for Canadian requirements and it employs 200 persons.

Marca Glove Co. Ltd., Vancouver, B.C., started and operated by Z. Markowicz, who owned a similar plant in Warsaw.

He is producing gloves of a very high standard and they are supposed to be the best in North America.

Renfo Tanning Products Ltd. (Leather and Sheepskin Tanning) Winnipeg, Man., has been established by W. Renfo, a Polish chemical engineer, who is co-owner of it.

Concrete Engineering Ltd., Montreal, set up by E. Sterns, a Polish civil engineer, who is President of the company.

The following machine shops have been set up by Polish engineers to handle subcontracts from some of the key industries:

Aero Tool Works Ltd., Weston, Ont.

Universal Engineering Ltd., Toronto.

Airplane Supply Co., Toronto.

Engineering Metallic Products Ltd., Toronto.

Detroit General Auto Repair Co., Montreal.

H. Lewin, mechanical engineer, who has been working since 1943 for Canadian war industries, owns a sheet metal machinery manufacturing plant in Belgium. He has left recently from this country for Brussels in order to sell his plant and to establish a similar one in Canada.

Mr. Lewin plans to invest in this work a capital averaging \$200,000; he thinks that this factory will employ in the beginning 100 men approximately.

3. UNIVERSITY TEACHING (FIVE PROFESSORS)

Prof. G. A. MOKRZYCKI—Professor of Aerodynamics at the University of Montreal. Due to his initiative, a study of Aeronautics has been introduced in 1942 at this University. A similar course is given at the University of Toronto only.

Prof. Mokrzycki designed a smoke wind tunnel and a 3-foot diameter wind tunnel for students' work as well as a large windmill 60-feet diameter for agricultural purposes. A number of his articles on Aerodynamics and Cosmogony have appeared in Canadian and American scientific publications.

Dr. B. SZCZENIOWSKI—Professor of Thermodynamics at the University of Montreal. He gives lectures in Thermodynamics for post graduate engineering students. This course did not exist before his appointment.

Dr. Szczeniowski designed three new laboratories:

Calorimetric Laboratory,

Laboratory of aircraft engines and superchargers,

General Thermodynamics Laboratory.

The two last ones are already set up and thoroughly equipped.

Prof. Szczeniowski has published a number of articles on Thermodynamics, Aircraft Propulsion, Supercharges, etc. and has taken an active part in a number of Scientific meetings.

J. PAWLIKOWSKI—D.Sc. in Electrical Engineering, Professor at the University of Montreal. He gives lectures in Electrical Illumination, Airport Construction and Aircraft Equipment; a number of his articles have appeared in highly technical publications.

A. GRZEDZIELSKI—D.Sc. in Mechanical Engineering, Professor of Aerodynamics at the University of Montreal.

E. KOSKO—Assistant Professor at the University of Montreal.

4. POPULARIZATION OF GLIDERS

In 1914-42, under the supervision of Mr. W. Czerwinski and with the assistance of other Polish engineers, an utility glider "Sparrow" has been designed and constructed by the De Havilland Company, Toronto.

In 1944, with the help of the same people, another glider "Robin" has been constructed by Canadian Wooden Aircraft Ltd., Toronto.

On Mr. Czerwinski's initiative the first Glider Club has been established at the De Havilland Company at which two Polish engineers, glider-pilot instructors, are training Canadian boys in glide flights. So far, more than 60 of them have obtained their glider-pilot licences.

In 1944, the same engineers have organized a similar club at the Canadian Wooden Aircraft Ltd., Toronto.

Many performance flights have been carried out, and especially the Auto-gyro-Tow flight, the first of this type in the history. These flights contributed to the popularization of gliders in Canada, and especially those done with the "Sparrow" glider, such as Toronto-London, Ont. (in 1942), and Toronto-Ottawa (in 1945).

"The Soaring Association of Canada" has been established in 1943, and seven Polish glider experts are working in its Technical and Sport Commissions.

Thanks to some Polish engineers, special courses on glider problems were initiated in 1943 at the University of Toronto, and five Polish specialists are lecturing on this subject.

A number of articles on gliding aviation have been written by Polish engineers, and have appeared in Canadian aircraft magazines.

5. PATENTS (THIRTY-FIVE) OBTAINED IN CANADA BY POLISH ENGINEERS

Dr. A. SZWARC—D.Sc. (Chemistry): See page 112.

I. SZPINAK—Metallug. Chemist:

Has patented:

- (a) Manufacture of bimetal light electrical conductors.
- (b) Production of continuous tubes without seam.
- (c) Production of light metal armors on cables instead of lead armor.
- (d) Production of system of steel sheets covered by rolling mills with a homogenous aluminum protection.

Dr. B. SZCZENIOWSKI—D.Sc. in Mechanical Engineering:

Has patented:

- (a) Aircraft Supercharger.
- (b) Hydraulic coupling of new construction.

Works almost ready to be patented:

- (a) Feeding pump for boilers.
- (b) Tourists' portable oven.

Dr. Szczeniowski is working on system of Rocket Propulsion for airplanes using turbine without supercharger.

H. LĘWIN—Mechanical Engineer:

Patents applicable to Eccentric Presses and other sheet metal Machines:—

- (a) Stepless stroke adjustment.
- (b) Revolving key friction clutch.
- (c) All metal expansion friction clutch.
- (d) Drive device for airflex clutch.
- (e) Sleeve for revolving key clutch.
- (f) Tilting device for inclinable presses.
- (g) Self-adjusting trip rod for inclinable presses.
- (h) Safety device against overload.
- (i) Gib adjustment device.
- (j) Self-lubricating gib for heavy duty presses.
- (k) Locating device for assembling large press frames.
- (l) Universal press.
- (m) Worm gear driven two and four point heavy duty universal press.

- (n) Deep drawing device.
- (o) Deep redrawing device.
- (p) Suspended blank holder device.
- (q) Toggle blank holder device.
- (r) Double screw blank holder device.
- (s) Spring for blank holder and other press devices.

Patents applied in Canadian production:

- (a) Inertia-less friction clutch.
- (b) Automatic brake.
- (c) Roller wedge automatic brake.
- (d) Adjustment device for connecting rod of presses.
- (e) Precision pitman ball screw.
- (f) Portable treadle.
- (g) Centrally controlled safety knock-out device.
- (h) Mechanical push button device for heavy duty clutch control.

1946

THE SENATE OF CANADA



PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

Immigration and Labour

On the operation and administration of the
Immigration Act, etc.

No. 4

WEDNESDAY, 26th JUNE, 1946

The Honourable James Murdock, P.C., Chairman

WITNESSES:

Mr. S. W. Fairweather, Vice-President of Research and Development,
Canadian National Railways.

Mr. J. S. McGowan, Director, Department of Colonization and Agriculture,
Canadian National Railways.

Mr. W. Maxwell, Chief of Development, Canadian National Railways.

STANDING COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND LABOUR

The Honourable JAMES MURDOCK, P.C., Chairman

The Honourable Senators

Aseltine	Donnelly	McGeer
Blais	Dupuis	Molloy
Bouchard	Euler	Murdock
Bourque	Ferland	Pirie
Buchanan	Haig	Robertson
Burchill	Hardy	Robinson
Calder	Horner	Roebuck
Campbell	Hushion	Taylor
Crerar	Lesage	Vaillancourt
Daigle	Macdonald (<i>Cardigan</i>)	Veniot
David	McDonald (<i>Shediac</i>)	Wilson

ORDER OF REFERENCE

EXTRACT from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Senate, Wednesday, May 8, 1946.

"That the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour be authorized and directed to examine into the Immigration Act (R.S.C. Chapter 93 and Amendments) its operation and administration and the circumstances and conditions relating thereto including (a) the desirability of admitting immigrants to Canada, (b) the type of immigrant which should be preferred, including origin, training and other characteristics, (c) the availability of such immigrants for admission, (d) the facilities, resources and capacity of Canada to absorb, employ and maintain such immigrants, and (e) the appropriate terms and conditions of such admission;

And that the said Committee report its findings to this house;

And that the said Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records."

L. C. MOYER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

WEDNESDAY, 26th June, 1946.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour met this day at 10.30 o'clock, a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Murdock, Chairman; Aseltine, Blais, Buchanan, Crerar, Daigle, Euler, Ferland, Horner, Hushion, McDonald (*Shediac*), McGeer, Molloy, Robinson, Roebuck and Taylor—16.

The official reporters of the Senate were in attendance.

The Committee resumed consideration of the order of reference of 8th May, 1946, directing the Committee to examine into the operation and administration of the Immigration Act, etc.

Mr. S. W. Fairweather, Vice-President of Research and Development, Canadian National Railways, was heard and read a brief on the natural resources of Canada, and the facilities of the Canadian National Railways for Research and Development of natural resources in connection with industrial development in Canada.

Mr. J. S. McGowan, Director, Department of Colonization and Agriculture, Canadian National Railways, was heard and read a brief on the Colonization and Agriculture services maintained by the Canadian National Railways.

Mr. W. Maxwell, Chief of Development, Canadian National Railways, was heard and outlined the activities of the Development and Industrial Department of the Canadian National Railways.

At 1 o'clock, p.m., the Committee adjourned until Tuesday, 2nd July, 1946, at 10.30 o'clock, a.m.

Attest.

H. Armstrong,
Clerk of the Committee.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

THE SENATE,

Ottawa, Wednesday, June 26, 1946.

The Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour, which was authorized and directed to examine into the Immigration Act, met this day at 10.30 a.m.

Hon. Mr. Murdock in the Chair.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Chairman, the first witness this morning is Mr. Fairweather of the Canadian National Railways. Perhaps he would be good enough to give his own position with the C.N.R. and that of his two associates.

Mr. S. W. FAIRWEATHER: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am Vice-President of the Research and Development of the Canadian National Railways and matters coming under my jurisdiction which would be of interest to this committee are natural resources and industrial placement. It is the duty of my department to be informed on the natural resources of Canada, and to advertise opportunities for placement of industry along the lines of the Canadian National Railway. Mr. Maxwell is Chief of Development and reports to me.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: What is the nature of the development?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: It is his duty to have responsible charge of those functions of the Research Department which deal with natural resources and industrial placement. Mr. McGowan is in charge of the Department of Agriculture and Colonization. That is a separate department and he does not report to me, but reports to the President. His duties are sufficiently described in his title.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Where does Mr. McGowan live?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: In Montreal, as do also Mr. Maxwell and myself.

Mr. Chairman, when we were invited to make an appearance before this committee we deemed it advisable to put our thoughts down in an orderly fashion, and we have prepared what might be called a brief or a presentation which has been mimeographed and is available if members desire it. With your permission, Mr. Chairman, and with the consent of the committee, I would suggest that I read this memorandum and any questions which might arise on the subject we will endeavour to answer.

Mr. Vaughan has asked me to convey to the committee his regrets at not being able to be present. He is keenly aware of the importance of the subject and has instructed us to be of all possible assistance to the committee.

Under the organization of the Canadian National Railways the Department of Research and Development is charged with the function of dealing with the railway interests in natural resources and in the placement of industry. Mr. Maxwell, who accompanies me, is the Chief of Development and is charged directly with those matters. Mr. McGowan heads a separate department charged with the railway's interest in colonization and agriculture and in the presentation of our material this distinction will be observed. Mr. Maxwell and myself will endeavour to answer questions bearing on natural resources and industrial matters and Mr. McGowan will handle questions relating to colonization and agriculture.

I have given some thought to what might be said usefully of the Canadian National in relation to Canada's natural resources and industrial development. I feel that a recital of statistical data, which of necessity would be a repetition of data already available in government publications, would add nothing to the

information of the committee. It is a platitude to say that Canada is a country of great natural resources. There is probably no other land expanse in the temperate zone with as great a variety and extent of natural resources as Canada with its wealth of sea and fresh water fisheries, its forests, its minerals and its agricultural resources. There is no question of scarcity in this country. Our problem is one of turning these vast stores of natural resources into useable wealth. The economic history of Canada is a story of the success with which that problem has been attacked, and the high level of national income per capita relative to other countries is a measure of what has been accomplished. Our wealth of natural resources, wisely and prudently fostered and developed, is a firm foundation upon which we can build for the future.

The value of natural resources is not static. Each advance which takes place in industrial science creates increased demands, widens markets, transfers wealth from the potential to the actual and in doing so creates new opportunities for jobs of every description. A hundred years ago it took three-quarters of the effort of a people to grow sufficient food for their support and one-quarter was available for all other types of employment. To-day the situation has just about reversed. It requires only one-quarter of the effort of a people to supply their food requirements and three-quarters is available for other types of activity. In thinking of developmental opportunities it is necessary to keep this condition in mind, a condition which is at once a tribute to developments in the arts and sciences as regards the past and a promise of more and wider opportunities as regards the future. There is a close relationship between transportation, and more particularly land transportation, and the development of natural resources in Canada. Canada is continental in scope. The vast resources of which I have spoken are distributed over an area measuring thousands of miles in distance and millions of square miles in area. Only by rail transportation can these natural resources be made available to industrial development and to settlement. Canada is doubly fortunate in having not only vast resources but also in having at this time a net-work of railways to develop them. Broadly speaking, we are not faced with the problem of bringing transportation to our natural resources, a process which if it were necessary would require the importation of large amounts of capital and place us in the position of what is usually spoken of as a debtor nation. That phase of our economic history is behind us. We are no longer a debtor country; we are a creditor country. We have vast natural resources; we possess the capital and the skills required for their development and therefore, relative to other countries, Canada is undoubtedly a land of opportunity.

I should like to say a few words regarding the service extended by the Canadian National Railways in making these opportunities available. The Canadian National is a mighty instrument in the development of Canada. It serves alike communities on the pioneering fringe of development and the populous centres. It serves all Canada's seaports and has ramifications in every province. With its own lines and its fifty percent interest in the Northern Alberta Railways it extends service to 90 percent of the people of Canada. It is a fairly well accepted theory that a railway influences the detail development of natural resources for a distance of 30 miles on each side of it. Measured by this standard the Canadian National Railways extends its services in detail to some one and a quarter million square miles of Canadian territory and by furnishing rail heads for supplementary transportation to more remote areas reached by waterways, highways and airways, it affords even wider coverage. This vast area has an average density of population per mile of railway of 283 people. Measured by standards of most other countries this would present an absurd transportation picture, but the high level production of the average Canadian must also be taken into account and it is a fact that railway transportation is furnished in Canada

at lower costs than in any other country in the world. It is also true that the demand for transportation per capita is the highest. I have sketched out these features in order to make plain the relationship of the Canadian National to the further expansion and development of Canada's natural resources. The system is well located to extend service in every form of expansion. There is an abundance of ever increasing opportunity for expansion.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Fairweather, when you say that in Canada there is a lower cost than in any other country, do you mean a lower cost per capita?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: It is a lower cost per unit of production. You can measure it by either the fraction of national income that has been expended for transportation, or the cost of moving a ton of freight one mile. Measuring it by either means it is the cheapest transportation of any country.

Hon. Mr. McGEE: That is largely the result of legislation of the Parliament of Canada. That has been the influence of the Crows Nest Pass Act which was carried out.

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: My statement is the statement of an economist. I made my statement in relation to the actual cost of transportation.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: An Act of Parliament does not bring about efficiency of management. Efficiency brings about an Act of Parliament.

Hon. Mr. McGEE: It has nothing to do with railway economy management; it results from men in the government of Canada looking forward to the exporting of wheat, and taking certain steps. The fact is that the carrying of wheat in the west gives a lower average. When you come to the other districts of Canada, in the Maritimes, for instance, there is the Freight Rates Act, which provides a bonus for freight to such points as Halifax, Moncton and Saint John. When you go out to British Columbia, you find the differential, which was designed to divert traffic from the Panama canal. I do not say the Pacific coast has the lowest rate of any place in the world.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I apologize for speaking then. I wanted to know what that was.

Hon. Mr. McGEE: I think Mr. Fairweather can go on with the reading of his statement. There will be several questions to be asked afterwards.

Mr. Fairweather:

The management of the Canadian National is keenly aware of its responsibilities and stands ready to aid and assist by every means in its power the further development of the territory tributary to the railway. To foster and assist such development the railway offers the services of its Department of Research and Development and I think it would be of interest to the committee to know how that is undertaken.

The development division of the Department of Research and Development maintains, besides its head office staff at Montreal, branch offices at New York City and in London, England. In addition, its operations are integrated with the several regional industrial offices whose development activities it directs. These offices are located at Moncton, Quebec City, Montreal, Toronto, Detroit, Winnipeg and Vancouver. These industrial officers report, in matters directly affecting operation, to the regional authorities and, on development matters to our development division in Montreal. Thus we have fairly complete on-line coverage with coverage both in the United States and Great Britain.

The theory on which our development division operates is the application of science to the promotion of the industrial and commercial activities on which the growth of our traffic depends and its operation is based on a program of continuing detailed studies of the resources of the territories the Canadian National serves, is capable of serving or within which its influence, as a

transportation agency, reaches, all of which pretty well compasses the entire Dominion of Canada. We draw from these factual studies conclusions as to specific items of economic opportunity that offer in a particular territory and bring knowledge of these opportunities by means of personal approach directly to the attention of corporations, organizations or individuals selected as most likely to be interested to the point of applying their skills, organization and capital in manufacturing, or other production projects based thereon.

In the further development of these enterprises our department offers a continuing technical service to the point where an industry becomes established.

The immediate object is the resulting increase in the traffic of our system and the broad ultimate result the development of the Dominion in its economic and, to a degree, its social aspects.

To implement this plan we have drawn together and plan to expand further a staff of men chosen, in part, for their technical competence and in part for their broad knowledge of industry and industrial operations and processes. Men, in order to engage successfully in such work, must have a wide acquaintance with Canada in all its economic aspects and, a knowledge of the organization of production in the United States and Great Britain. It goes without saying that they must be versed in the operation of the railway and the economics of transportation.

Pure research is not a function of our development division. The establishment of new economic facts is, we believe, a function of established research and technical organizations—state-controlled, academic and private—and our aim is to integrate our development work with such established fact-finding facilities looking to mutual advantage rather than setting up parallel efforts. Such organizations are the technical sections of the several departments or divisions of government, federal and provincial, such as Mines and Resources, Lands and Forests, Statistics, etc.; National Research Council, and the research organizations operated in some of the provinces as well as research facilities in the Universities and in private companies.

By analysis and study of data we endeavour to bridge the gap between the knowledge accumulated by such bodies and the needs of the practical man of affairs. In brief, to find the customer to whom a potential opportunity may be attractive and then to convince him by sound salesmanship that there is a worthwhile opportunity suited to his needs. The finest and best considered economic presentation falls to earth if never presented or if it does not reach the right party, and much past failure must be attributed to lack of facilities for placing the proposal properly before interests who might convert it to an operation. Our Canadian National working plan is devised to bridge this gap; it has three prime functions—

- (1) The servicing of industrial enquiry.
- (2) The establishing, through continuing studies, of specific items of economic opportunity within our territory.
- (3) The presenting of these findings to selected prospects—corporations or interests regarded as the most logical or likely to undertake their development.

With these functions, as will be obvious, a multiplicity of underlying functions are associated.

Our organization consists of my own office and that of the Chief of Development of Montreal. Under his direction, Industrial development contacts are handled at Montreal and New York by Commissioners of Development with an Industrial Agent located at London, England. The work at New York and London is almost entirely contact work. It furnishes the bridge between the development work carried on by staff at head office and the public, they carrying

out in the field the contact work indicated by the head office studies. Beyond this, their working programme is based on an analysis of industry in their respective territories, designed to uncover those companies that from the nature of their organization, products and distribution are regarded as most likely to be interested in establishing Canadian operations and a feature of their work is the development of working relations with such companies looking to their early or ultimate establishment in Canada.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Does that apply pretty well to the western parts of Canada, or generally?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: It is general, sir. We seek opportunity wherever we can find it.

Hon. Mr. EULER: What has been your experience? Does it apply mostly to the West?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: No, sir. I would say it is pretty general. I can cite instances in Ontario or Quebec.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Have you any examples in Ontario or Quebec where the activities which have resulted would be more of an industrial development?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: Well, of course, we would not want to take full credit for the initiating of these things, but I can tell you, for instance, of one development in Ontario which is in hand at the present time. We talked to a prominent manufacturer of building products, and suggested to him a location in Ontario very favourable for transportation of his products, and from time to time continued to contact his company for a period of around twenty years.

Eventually the company did decide to locate their plant in Ontario near Toronto, and are now in the process of having a very large plant designed. I imagine it will run into millions of dollars in capital expenditure, and it will be a large producer of building material.

But I don't want to leave the impression that we are creating these opportunities. Our organization is primarily a service organization. I suppose probably two-thirds or three-quarters of the industrial placements that we have assisted in, started out with a manufacturer thinking of doing something, then coming to us. We sit down in conference with him, and he explains what he has in mind, and then we offer to him the service of our department to assist him in picking out a location for his plant, taking into consideration the factors that we are trained to deal in. We make for him a transportation cost study, and he tells us what he proposes to make and where he intends selling it; where he intends to get his raw material, and from that information we make a study showing what the transportation content of his product would be if he allocated at point "A", "B" or "C". We frequently suggest to him locations that he had no thought of; in other cases we initiate the development by uncovering what we think is an opportunity, and then we make a report on that, put it in our portfolio and send it out through our salesmen. They go out and make contact with industry and say to their prospects, "Did you ever think of this?" Of course we are very happy when we succeed in selling one of those propositions. We have contact men visiting industry and making thousands of calls every year; we can never tell when one of them is going to result in the location of industry.

Hon. Mr. EULER: You are speaking of the development of natural resources, and saying that it has advanced perhaps much further in eastern Canada than in the western part. Some of us think that it would be to the advantage of Canada if we could have industrial development in western Canada. Perhaps such an arrangement would settle some of our differences, and since the natural resources have been advanced so far in Ontario and Quebec, it might be worth your while to devote attention to these resources, by way of industrial development, in western Canada. That is my thought on the subject.

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: I am very glad that point has been raised. Mr. Maxwell and myself last fall made an extensive tour through western Canada, during which we travelled thousands of miles, visited a great many centres and conferred with the provincial authorities and departments with the idea of scouting out the country for the purpose of developing what might be called line spots. We found that there is plenty of opportunity, and we are endeavouring to do our part in seeing that industrial expansion comes about.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: With respect to what Senator Euler has said about industrial activities in western Canada, it seems to me that the industrialists in Canada have fallen down badly. They have missed opportunities to develop paper mills and other industries that were well suited to western Canada. However you might have difficulty in persuading them to go out there.

Hon. Mr. EULER: It is a question of smaller population.

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: It is all a complex of markets and availability of resources, labour and many other things.

Hon. Mr. EULER: And power.

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: But that there is opportunity there cannot be gainsaid. The western provinces have an abundance of opportunity for industrial development. I am one who believes that it will come, but I also am one who has to do the best he can with materials available. We try to develop industrial opportunity anywhere in Canada; we make no distinction. We try just as hard for western Canada as we do for eastern Canada; just as hard for the Pacific coast as the Atlantic.

Hon. Mr. EULER: You try where you think you are going to get the most traffic for the railway.

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: We try everything; we seek to place industry where it will have an opportunity of being successful.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: Is that the reason you maintain the mountain differential?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: I do not maintain the mountain differential.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: I know but you are the railway and it is maintained; you have no mountain grade on your railway through the Yellowhead Pass, and yet you sit there and talk about developing traffic any place, and you know better than any man in this room that the mountain differential is designed to prevent the Pacific coast industrialists competing with eastern industrialists on a basis of equality. It has that effect and you know it.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: May I come back to a point, Mr. Fairweather? I am all in favour of industrialization in western Canada, but do you agree that there are certain limiting factors? Senator Euler mentioned population. For instance, one of the big industries in eastern Canada is the textile industry; that is dependent on the getting of cotton, the raw material, that comes from outside Canada. If an effort were made to develop the cotton textile industry in Winnipeg, Regina or Saskatoon there are certain difficulties in the way and which, it seems to me, would prevent its successful development. For instance, our climate is a little more rigorous than it is in Ontario or the Montreal district, requiring more heating costs. In addition we would have transportation of the raw material a long distance, and transportation of the finished product to an ultimate market. On that basis competition could not be maintained. There are certain iron and steel industries in western Canada; there is a rolling mill at Selkirk, Manitoba. It has a good deal of difficulty competing with an organization like the Hamilton Steel. Perhaps I should not mention that, but I think it is a fact; and it is largely because they have to import the basic product, aside from what they get from scrap, a long distance. Coal has to be shipped a long way, and then when there is a finished product the market at home is limited. I think it is well to be sensible and realistic talking of manufacturing possibilities in western Canada.

There are certain industries such as the manufacture of flour and meat products; some of our best abattoirs are in western Canada.

Hon. Mr. MCGEER: The best packing houses are there.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: There are certain other commodities on which you get the raw materials on an even cost; for instance, Winnipeg is developing a very good garment industry in the manufacture of overalls, workmen's shirts, and that sort of product, where the raw material can be brought in and processed there and the market exists in the area, which is assisting in the development of the west generally, and particularly the northern part. It has been interesting to me to observe the effect mining development in Northern Manitoba has on subsidiary industries in Winnipeg. The same situation is to a lesser degree applicable to fishery products. I think in the main our industrial development in western Canada must be related closely to the raw material products available in that part of Canada.

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: I think it is a sound principle that industrial development must progress and be based upon the strength of the locality. There are opportunities in western Canada and I subscribe to everything you have said, Senator Crerar. Industrialization out there is progressing; it may not be progressing as fast as some people might think desirable. I was happy to hear you mention the packing industry. That is one item I feel western Canada has strength in. It may be surprising to hear me say that I think the dairy industry in western Canada has natural strength. I am talking of the industrial products that grow from the dairy industry, and not simply dairying for the production of milk for local consumption. We have uncovered two or three spots where we think there is an opportunity, and we are at the moment trying to interest manufacturing dairymen in placing a factory in western Canada for the manufacture of dairy products. It has been mentioned that there should be some pulp mills out there. I agree that is a potentiality. The problem is one of bringing to the attention of industrialists the opportunity, and then to take the time that is necessary for development. There has to be a margin for any honest industrialist to approach a scheme of that kind; he has to see a chance for the success of his project. All of those things have to be taken into account; but it is a most happy situation that in western Canada there is developing a mining industry. It has been my observation that secondary industries allowed to develop around primary industries are the ones that really make for the expansion of the country; for instance, mines like Flin Flon and Noranda. The economic influence of those mines in a country like Canada is not limited to the mere employment afforded in the mines; they create markets and those markets create opportunities for little manufacturing concerns. Before you realize it there are dozens of little firms manufacturing many commodities. The net result with agriculture, our forest belt, mineral resources and inland fisheries—because Canada is unique in its fisheries—it all goes to create a picture, which in my opinion, is bound to lend to our industrial expansion. But the tempo of expansion is a matter that is not within the control of any one person.

Hon. Mr. MCGEER: But it can be aided.

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: We endeavour to aid it by doing our small part. First we extend the best service we can through our railway, and second, we furnish through our development branch all the information we possibly can.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: In respect to Senator Crerar's remarks about coal, Alberta has one-fifth of the world's known supply. Saskatchewan has a quantity of low-grade coal. In Alberta there are billions of tons of coal near the surface which have never been touched. Some of the finest stands of poplar are in northern Saskatchewan, and they are being shipped to the U.S.A. by train loads, there to be manufactured into paper.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Would you think that the absence of any large industry in Alberta and Saskatchewan is due to the lack of low-cost electrical power?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: No, sir. There is an abundance of cheap power in the prairie provinces.

Hon. Mr. EULER: In the south?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: There will be just as soon as we can get people to go at it on a large scale. That power will be based on the lignite in Saskatchewan, where power could be manufactured cheaply and transported at high voltage all over the country.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Of course when we get atomic energy everything will be all right.

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: That is true. But we don't have to think in atomic energy at present to get cheap power in Saskatchewan. There is another tremendous natural source of which I am naturally optimistic. Somewhere around the border of Saskatchewan and Alberta there is one of the largest natural gas fields in the world. Of course, it has to be developed. Now if the natural gas found there is treated in the same manner as that of Texas, we could have in Canada a tremendous natural resource. With the known methods of utilizing gas, we could produce hugh quantities of gasoline and other oils. Power, in any sense of the word, is not an expensive item in the West.

Hon. Mr. EULER: We have had quite an intensive campaign on the part of certain interested individuals to develop the coal deposits in the West. It has been stated that that coal is as good as the hard coal now being imported from the Pennsylvania coal fields. Have you any information to give us as to whether that coal, which has been described as hard coal or anthracite coal, could be economically shipped from Alberta to the consumers in the East? Has your company considered that?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: Yes, we have sent survey parties there.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Is it a practical thing?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: I think, sir, it is unproven in the practical sense. It is true that there are tremendous deposits of coal there.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Is it hard coal? I know there are all kinds of deposits of soft coal in Alberta, but is there hard coal? Have you investigated?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: My information in that regard would have to be taken from information supplied by government parties.

Hon. Mr. EULER: You have not made any research on your own account?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: I am not aware of any considerable deposits of anthracite in western Canada. There is a great deal of low-grade soft coal, which is an excellent coal. I cannot recall any instances of true anthracite being located in Alberta.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: What do you know about the High River coal? Is it of good quality?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: That is an exceptional grade at High River. It is about as good a coal as there is. Alberta is undoubtedly one of the world's largest reserves of soft coal. It becomes a question of where you are going to attack the problem. The problem is not one of coal as the coal is there, but of producing it and finding markets for it.

Hon. Mr. EULER: The claim has been made through advertisements, and so on, that that coal is of a kind that could be used for domestic purposes in eastern Canada. What can you tell us about that?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: I could certainly say the coal is there, and it is an excellent domestic coal.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: It resolves itself into a problem of transporting it from there?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: You would have to build railways in to get it.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: A railway has already been built and is serving the mine.

Hon. Mr. EULER: It would only be practical to ship the coal from Alberta if there was a subsidy.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: I don't think there is any subsidy on coal being shipped to British Columbia.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Can it be transported to Ontario economically?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: It is being transported.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Can it be economically transported, so that it can compete with the anthracite ordinarily imported from Pennsylvania?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: At the present time little is being transported; in fact the quantity is very low in relation to the value of the service performed.

Hon. Mr. EULER: But you are getting a subsidy for that?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: But, as far as the industries are concerned, they get a low rate. Actually, I can see no reason why coal is not moving from the west in large volume.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: There is no doubt that there is a very high-grade coal west of Edmonton. I think the highest quality coal is west of the Peace River. I know there is a very high grade domestic coal now in use in Winnipeg, but in Toronto, for instance—well, you can't transport coal over two thousand miles economically without a very substantial subsidy per ton?

Hon. Mr. EULER: That is what I am getting at? Can coal be shipped economically east of Calgary and Lethbridge?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: With the great deposits of coal in the United States, just across the lakes, the coal from western Canada cannot compete unless we get a subsidy.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: You could move industry out there.

Hon. Mr. EULER: We have heard people claim they have a hard coal out there which could be transported to eastern Canada and could compete with the United States coal.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: I can't say that anthracite coal is being produced there, but a great deal of soft coal is being produced in the existing mines. There was a place called Anthracite built on the C.P.R. where it was claimed anthracite was present. But the mine was abandoned. I have read the advertisements claiming that there is hard coal there.

Hon. Mr. EULER: It seems to be the enterprise of a Mr. Brown.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: It is an enterprise for the formation of a mining company. I know there is plenty of coal there, but I cannot say it is hard coal.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: Do we not import large quantities of soft coal from the United States?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: We import enormous quantities.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: For what purpose is anthracite mainly used?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: Anthracite is used for domestic purposes almost entirely.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: Do you think the type of coal being produced in western Canada is of the same type as that being imported into Canada from the United States, apart from the anthracite, which is imported to a lesser extent.

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: There is an enormous quantity of bituminous coal coming into Canada; a good deal of it is coking coal.

Hon. Mr. EULER: I am referring to the coal that can be used for domestic heating purposes.

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: All I can say is that it is perfect for that use. In western Canada there are large deposits of coal that contain excellent domestic fuel. To my way of thinking it is not anthracite, but it is excellent low volatile, clean burning domestic fuel.

Hon. Mr. EULER: And can it be brought to eastern Canada in competition with anthracite from Pennsylvania?

Hon. Mr. McGEER: That is a matter for argument.

Hon. Mr. EULER: I mean without a subsidy.

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: I could not be presumed competent to answer that question in all its aspects, but as far as transportation is concerned I can say that the existing rate is non-remunerative.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: Of course your line hauls a very substantial part of the coal that comes into Canada?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: Yes.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: That is coming from the United States?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: Yes, we do.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: Does your company operate a coal mine in the United States?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: Yes, it does.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: Where is that coal mine located?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: It is in Bellaire, Ohio.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: How far is that place from Canada?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: By rail it would be a little over 150 miles.

Hon. Mr. EULER: It is very small compared to the haul from western Canada.

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: Yes.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: In any event the Canadian National is operating a coal mine in the United States?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: That is correct.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: You produce coal in the United States and bring it to Canada for consumption on your own system?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: Exclusively.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: You do not sell any coal in Canada?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: No.

Hon. Mr. EULER: It is not anthracite coal?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: It is bituminous coal.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: The coal your company mines and brings from Ohio is no better than the coal that can be produced in western Canada?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: There are coals produced in western Canada, and which we purchase, and as far as we can see they are just as good as the coal we get from the mine in the United States.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: When we buy coal from the United States we have to pay for it in American dollars, do we not?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: That is natural.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: As a matter of fact, we pay for it by shipping goods to the United States.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: Whether we do that or not, we pay the 10 per cent differential, which is fixed by the Foreign Exchange Control Board of Canada?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: Certainly; when the Canadian National brings coal into Canada it pays for it.

Hon. Mr. MCGEER: And there is a 10 per cent differential on our money exchange rate now, which is equivalent to a bonus?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: There is a 10 per cent premium on United States funds, yes.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Could you bring the coal as cheaply from the maritimes?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: We cannot get it from the maritimes at the present time.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Why not?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: It is not available, the mines are not producing in sufficient volume.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Speaking of domestic coal, a few years ago at Drumheller there was a coal mine which shipped coal into Ottawa here. I was speaking to some householders who burned this coal and they said it was the best they had ever used; they were willing to pay more per ton for it.

Hon. Mr. EULER: That coal was brought into my part of western Ontario, but of course it was subsidized.

Hon. Mr. TAYLOR: What would be the amount of the subsidy on that coal?

Hon. Mr. EULER: I could not answer that, but it would be several dollars a ton, which would come out of the general taxpayers' fund.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: I understand the committee is investigating the possibility of creating employment and immigration as it relates to coal. Has anything been learned in connection with the possibility of utilizing coal for other purposes than fuel?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: Yes we have heard of some rather new products. One scientist believes that he can use coal as a fertilizer. That is certain of the lignites in western Canada. Personally I have to be convinced that that is possible. Of course there have been extensive attempts to develop a low temperature carbonizing of lignites of western Canada with a view to recovering the char and using it for fuel and changing the oils available as a base for coal tar. So far as I know it has never been completely successful. The oils that are produced by low temperature processes from lignites of western Canada do not as yet fit into the technological requirements of these oils. Of course any coking coal under modern conditions is always accompanied by a by-product in the manufacture of chemicals of some kind or another.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: That has been the case in Germany. Has not Germany made a great deal out of its coal?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: Yes, the brown coals of Germany are rather unique. They may be unique because Germany developed the technological factors surrounding them and fitted the technique to the coal. But our lignites are not the same as the brown coal of Germany.

Hon. Mr. MCGEER: A good deal is being done in the way of improving the development of power from coal. I understand that the Ford people have developed a type of burner, and I think we used it in the Princeton power plant at the Princeton Copper Mine.

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: You can take coal today, in a modern well-designed plant, and burn it with a thermol efficiency close to 90 per cent.

Hon. Mr. MCGEER: The result was to establish the production of power on a cheaper basis than hydro electric power where coal was available.

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: Where coal is available and there is a market for the power, it can be produced from coal very cheaply and can compete with hydro electric power.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: There is a general misconception with regard to hydro electric power. Its production looks cheap because the water runs free, but in actuality the capital cost is very great for the development of hydro power.

The CHAIRMAN: Will you go ahead with your remarks, Mr. Fairweather.

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: They work closely with other Canadian agencies operating in their territory, such as the Canadian Trade Commissioners, provincial agents, etc. As a result of this, a great deal of unsolicited enquiry comes to them. To the extent that such enquiry can be serviced immediately by them this is done; where more detailed studies are required, this is passed to the head office at Montreal. The work of the on-line industrial men is similar in their territories but is limited by their operating functions. Staff at Montreal, in addition to the Chief of Development, who is an industrial engineer, consists of a Mining Engineer, and a Junior staff of Engineers, Field Representatives, Draftsmen, and Office Assistants, Junior staff being under the direction of a Commissioner of Development, a graduate engineer whose specialty is railway traffic. The services of the General Staff of the Department of Research and Development are incorporated for statistical, economic and other work where required.

In organizing our schedule of work we make no differentiation between types of development. Most of our national production originates in the natural wealth of the country and on our continuing studies of our mineral wealth and the products of land and sea much of our approach to our job of development is based. These studies must compass and interpret the economic geography of our country, its situation on the continent, the strategy of its location with respect to world markets, its situation in the Empire and in Empire Trade and the tariffs, excises and regulatory devices by which its commerce is governed. They must cover in detail the physical facts with respect to our harbours and waterways and most particularly, the towns and cities, results of our intimate studies of which are expressed in our series of industrial town surveys with detailed mappings with which we propose ultimately to cover every industrial centre in the Dominion.

We feel that our organization is most useful in aiding in the development of Canada when our efforts are closely associated with governmental and other agencies working along the same lines. During the period of the war our chief activity consisted of assisting in the location of industrial plants for war purposes. We are now engaged in the industrial and development aspects of reconversion, and it is heartening to know that industrialists are expressing their faith in the future of Canada in the very practical form of expansion of plants, large and small, throughout the Dominion. I cannot recall any period prior to the war in which there have been such extensive preparations for expansion of production than at present. Mr. Maxwell and myself within the past year have made an inspection in the field of much of the territory traversed by the Canadian National, during the course of which we conferred with many industrialists and with organizations and individuals interested in the development of Canada's natural resources. Everywhere we found an appreciation of the opportunities which existed and, what is more important, plans for development. Fisheries, forests, mines and agriculture were all being thought of in terms of industrial expansion. We were impressed by the evidence of new types of industry, both large and small. Some of these illustrate in pointed fashion the relationship between industrial expansion and scientific progress. For instance, we visited a plant in Eastern Canada which was processing pharmaceutical cod liver oil, using a new process developed in research laboratories, the result of which has been to make Canada one of the main world sources of cod liver oil and to make available for human needs material which previously was wasted. We visited many examples of what might be called infant industries but which, nevertheless, added appreciably to Canada's national wealth and gave promise of further expansion. In many cases we had aided in the location of these industries and it was very satisfying to visit them and to have a practical demonstration of their contribution to Canada's well-being. We saw yeast being made from sulphite liquor; fish being processed in new ways for market; Irish moss gathered from the sea; peat moss from peat bogs, which

I mention at random to show the scope of opportunity because they are all new developments. No one can make such a trip without becoming convinced that Canada is indeed a land of great opportunity. No one can travel the lines of the Canadian National, which, as I have said, extend service to a million and a quarter square miles and to 90 per cent of Canada's people, without realizing that the Canadian National is a most powerful and essential aid in the development of the country. Canada is a storehouse of natural resources, access to which has been afforded by her railway systems and the country is therefore in a most favourable position to take advantage of opportunities for expansion. The Canadian National may be relied upon to do its part in fostering increased development.

I trust that I have made clear to the committee that the Canadian National Railways is a vital instrument in the development of Canada and that the management of the railway is keenly aware of its responsibilities.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Does that not all add up to the question of manpower?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: The opportunities are there, gentlemen, and what is needed to turn it into real wealth is what is commonly known as industry.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: An intelligent application of a human effort.

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: Correct.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Capital, labour and markets.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: Mr. Fairweather, have you given any consideration to the possible continuance of Canada's export trade which was developed in the exporting of commodities during the war? We have gone into the business of exporting butter, dairy products, bacon and processed farm products in a very large way during the war.

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: That is correct.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: Now, if European production comes back to what it was in the pre-war days, Canada will be deprived of markets for those things?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: Well, I am not sure. I am not a prophet. All I can say is that we have the capacity to produce articles, and if we can produce articles in competition with other sources of supply we will continue to prosper.

Hon. Mr. EULER: We have heard that the countries of Europe will be able to produce some of the commodities we export to them. As I see it the remedy for that situation is to get more people in our country, and sell our products to them.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: We could not produce the things necessary for our standard of living.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: Much has been said in your brief regarding the high production of food in Canada. If people of other countries are to be brought here, some means must be given to them of buying food.

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: Well, in answering that, I must say it is my personal opinion that if Canada is to maintain her high production per capita, and her high standard of living, she must have export markets. I cannot conceive of Canada living to herself alone, and producing within her own boundaries everything which we need for life here. We have to be a heavy exporting country, and our ability to meet every export market is based on the completeness of our intelligence, and our willingness to work and maintain the advantages we have. Personally I am optimistic about Canada, and if I were anywhere else in this turbulent world I would certainly head for Canada.

Hon. Mr. McGEER: I think we were all optimistic in 1929. I do not think any man looked for the development which occurred in 1930 when the overall production fell to less than one-quarter that of what it had been the previous

year. I look with some concern as to what might happen in the next two or three years to the export markets which we developed during the war period. It seems possible that Europe will be largely self-sustaining in many kinds of commodities which are now largely shipped by the Canadian export trade. If that happens Canada will face a very serious crisis. You will agree with that?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: Well, I cannot look into the future. All I know is that of all the countries in the world, Canada in relation to the other countries is in a favoured position. We may run into trouble.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Have you any idea of how many immigrants could be absorbed into this country annually?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: No, sir.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I appreciate the difficulty in answering a question of that kind.

Hon. Mr. McGEE: How many people could be supported in British Columbia, or in Alberta?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: Any answer to that question, sir, has to be qualified as to the standard of living. If you want to drop the standard of living in Canada you can support an enormous population. Canada has a tremendous capacity for producing food, and the other essentials of life.

Hon. Mr. McGEE: And the comforts and conveniences as well.

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: Things that we treat as necessities of life may be regarded by other people as luxuries. We must have export markets in order to maintain this standard.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Is it not a fact that as the population increased the productive capacity of the individual increases?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: However that might be qualified by saying that the people must have access to the land.

Hon. Mr. McGEE: We have that policy.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: Have you found that people coming from Europe have not only been good settlers on the farms, but have brought new skills to industry?

Mr. FAIRWEATHER: Yes. I could mention dozens of cases of special skills being brought into the country by refugees.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Mr. Fairweather. Now we will hear from Mr. McGowan.

Mr. J. S. McGOWAN, Director of Department of Colonization and Agriculture, Canadian National Railways: Mr. Chairman and honourable members of this Committee, I am very glad to have the opportunity of presenting some information to this committee, as I believe the subject matter which you have under investigation represents one of the important problems facing the Canadian people today and calls for the widest possible study.

The Canadian National Railways, through its Department of Colonization and Agriculture, has maintained for many years an organization to give advice and direction to people in the United States, the British Isles and other European countries who are desirous of migrating to Canada. These immigrant people are met on arrival and assisted in their settlement arrangements. Having no Transatlantic steamship service of our own we also co-operate with a number of steamship lines and provide a colonization service for the people that they bring to Canada under the regulations. Since the organization of this department of our railway its major responsibility has been to promote the settlement and development of the unoccupied lands served by our lines. This represents the whole basis of our immigration and colonization work. Many of these lines, as you know, were built to open up new territories and the settle-

ment of the vacant lands and the potential traffic resulting from their development is of vital concern to the company. The history of the past shows that immigration and settlement have been the main basis for increasing that traffic. Only by the fullest development of our lands and other resources can we eventually realize the potential traffic from our existing lines. Our immigration efforts in past years in co-operation with the Department of Immigration have placed the possibilities of settlement in Canada before peoples in other countries who were interested in agricultural settlement, and as a result large areas of new land have been brought under the plow and are now providing an enlarged market for Canadian products and increased revenue for the company from these pioneer lines. In carrying out our objectives our purpose has been to encourage and direct for settlement on the land only those prospective settlers who would have a good prospect of succeeding.

We are also very definitely interested in the settlement on the land of our own Canadian people. With our experience and knowledge of lands available we are able to provide an adequate service for those looking for new land locations. We have also co-operated with the federal and provincial authorities in the several back-to-the-land movements in effect during the depression period. We are interested in the new Veterans' Land Act and have to a very limited extent provided some assistance and co-operation to those responsible for its administration.

Our service also extends into the field of agricultural development, which has for its main purpose the improvement of farming conditions in the areas we serve and the increase in freight traffic resulting therefrom. As part of our agricultural development work we have been able to follow up and keep in close touch with our immigrant settlers, and assist them in many ways in the development of their farming operations.

It would perhaps be of interest to this committee if I provided a brief report covering the situation in various European countries from which in the past we have secured most of our European people. In the first place I should emphasize that the possibilities for securing desirable immigrants of good type appear to be much more promising than they have been for many years. Large numbers of people are definitely interested in migration and many of them have expressed a desire to establish new homes in Canada. As against this we must recognize very clearly that for the immediate future there are certain definitely limiting factors that are likely to exist in varying degrees for some time. There will be practically no free shipping space during 1946 but there is reasonable expectation that a limited amount will be available early in 1947. After that, the shipping situation should become progressively better. In some countries there exist at present various regulations with regard to exit permits and to the export of capital. It is expected that most of these restrictions will be modified as conditions return to normal. To these two points should be added the present-day cost of moving immigrants and the increasing amounts of capital necessary to effect successful settlement.

Dealing with the countries separately the following is a brief review:

British Isles: From the number of applications being received it is quite apparent that there are many people in the British Isles desirous of coming to Canada. These include farmers with considerable capital who appear to be partly influenced by the increasing cost of their farm operations. British farm labourers are receiving a higher wage to-day than ever before in history and are unlikely to be much interested in the opportunities for this kind of employment in Canada. Under the new agricultural wage scale ordinary farm labourers will receive a minimum of £4 per week with increased rates for overtime.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Does that include board and lodging?

Mr. McGOWAN: No, it does not. Some of these men, however, have saved substantial amounts and will be interested in becoming established on farms of their own. A few applications are being received from employers with capital who may wish to transfer to Canada all or part of their activities. There is a large number of industrial workers with some skill or trade, as well as a limited number of professional people, such as engineers, teachers, etc. British juvenile organizations are ready to operate again. Owing to the scarcity of household workers very few domestics are likely to be available. In addition to the foregoing there will be many family reunions, fiancees, and nominations by friends and relatives in Canada. At the moment the almost complete lack of shipping space is preventing these people from coming forward.

Scandinavian Countries: Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland have provided us with many good immigrants in the past, although the number received has been comparatively small. Sweden has experienced great prosperity during the war, employment conditions are good, and there are not many people desirous of leaving that country at the present time. In contrast to this there are many people in Norway who have applied for admission to Canada. A somewhat similar situation exists in Denmark. A fair percentage of those applying are agriculturists but many of them are industrial workers with skill, enterprise and capital.

Holland: This country perhaps more than any country in Europe is definitely overpopulated, and this is recognized by the Dutch Government departments. This surplus population will have to be re-established elsewhere and for this purpose the Netherlands Government maintains an organization known as the Netherlands Emigration Foundation. The majority of those applying are agriculturists of a type that has always done well in Canada. The liberation of Holland and its occupation by Canadian troops has created great interest in Canada. We have a large number of applications from groups and individuals, some of whom have relatives farming in Canada. To illustrate, the following extract is taken from a letter sent to us and signed by 48 Hollanders, all farming small acreages and some of whom have relatives farming in Central British Columbia:

We enclose herewith a list of immigrants from this vicinity. We wish to inform you that this group is very enthusiastic to emigrate to Canada in the shortest possible time. Many farmers in Holland must make a living from a piece of land in many cases not exceeding 4-6 acres. With a good crop and high prices this is possible but usually this is not the case.

Belgium: Many inquiries are being received also from Belgium prospects. The problem in Belgium is much the same as in Holland except that overpopulation is not quite so pressing and the recovery from the effects of the war has been more rapid.

France: In France the situation is difficult to estimate. Since the beginning of this century we have not received many immigrants from this country. The general unsettlement following the war has produced a restlessness among the middle class which has influenced many people to think of re-establishing themselves elsewhere. As a consequence, many inquiries are being received. However, France needs more population and is in fact reported to be making an effort to bring in up to 2,000,000 workers from other Western European countries. In view of this situation it is at present doubtful if the Government will facilitate any movement out, or permit the export of capital.

Switzerland: We have received some good settlers from Switzerland in past years. In this country there has been little change in the situation since prewar years. Switzerland is quite prosperous, with employment conditions good and only a limited number of inquiries is being received for migration.

Other Central European Countries: These include such countries as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria, Roumania, Yugoslavia, and Finland.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Do you maintain agencies in these countries?

Mr. McGOWAN: In normal times we had two men cover these countries.

Hon. Mr. EULER: You had only two men for all these countries?

Mr. McGOWAN: They were what might be termed inspectors, who inspected the families anxious to come to this country to see that they had the necessary agricultural experience and the capital to establish themselves here.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That includes only the central European countries, not Holland, Belgium and France?

Mr. McGOWAN: I am speaking only of the central European countries. The situation in these countries, from which many immigrants have come in the past, is too indefinite at present to offer any constructive opinion except to say that any future movement from these countries is likely to be much more difficult than in prewar years.

This summarizes very briefly the European emigration picture with the exception of the large number of displaced persons in various countries whose future and re-establishment presents an international problem of the first magnitude.

In Canada, many people are very anxious to bring to this country friends and relatives from European countries. The admission of these people under present regulations, as and when shipping is available for them, will no doubt represent the first post-war immigrant movement to this country. With the assistance of their relatives they can be easily assimilated into our national life and should present no problem of absorption.

In dealing with the prospects of securing new people there is one further point that I believe should be emphasized. Contrary to public opinion a constructive movement of new people into Canada cannot be developed or built up over night. It requires not only shipping facilities but also careful planning and organization. It requires also some continuity of policy as well as the co-ordinated effort of all those interested. It has always been a general opinion among Canadians that an unlimited number of agricultural families and other good types of immigrants can be secured in Europe for settlement here, on short notice. Unfortunately this is not correct. Long experience has shown that families of the type that can qualify, with capital and experience, do not decide suddenly to break up their homes and cross the ocean; and as I have indicated, this situation may become progressively more difficult. The necessity for a long term program is important. A steady flow of good settlers over a period of years is perhaps more constructive than any large movement in any one year. In that connection the word "millions" in regard to new immigration has been used too loosely by some people, and such opinions given wide publicity tend to leave an entirely wrong impression and to indicate that we are liable to receive more than can be readily absorbed.

The first world war interrupted the steady flow of immigration to Canada that had been built up over a period of years, and the severe depression of the '30's and the recent war repeated that performance. As a direct result, Canada has to some extent at least suffered from what might be termed a period of arrested development. As a consequence, too, we appear to have lost something of that earlier initiative and vision of our future; and yet we all realize that there are many opportunities available for expansion. Compared with other countries we still have a very high ratio of land to population, and from the railway standpoint we know that we have more railway mileage per capita than any other country. Geographically we have a very big territory with a comparatively small population scattered over a very wide area that is difficult to service. In our many public services and in our resources we have the machinery

and opportunities to provide for more people who could help us to do some of the hard work of expanding our economy.

We have to-day approximately 735,000 farms and farm homes. It has taken a long time to bring about this development. Every Canadian understands that it was our immigrant farmers who developed this country, changed our virgin lands into cultivated fields, founded our communities, built our railroads, established our industries, and made possible more employment and a higher standard of living for our people, which will be of continuing benefit to the generations to follow. In connection with your investigation I have here a chart which illustrates in a very graphic way the flow of immigration to Canada from 1852 to 1942. As you can clearly see, our big movement took place from the beginning of the century until the outbreak of the first world war. That was our period of great development when we built a transportation system and many other public services for a much bigger population which so far we have not got. It is generally recognized that that period, with the opening of the West, changed the whole position of Canada in world affairs. It revitalized the industrial life of Eastern Canada and it poured a new wealth of agricultural products into the channels of our export trade. After the last war some efforts were made to rebuild on the old foundation and some progress was made, but with the coming of the depression in the '30's immigration was reduced to less than what it had been ninety years before. Our present position in world affairs is a direct result of our immigration development in the past, and only through the orderly and efficient development of our natural wealth can we make the best contribution to the continuing prosperity of our people. Provided there is a reasonably effective functioning of the world economic system I am confident that Canada has the opportunity of entering a period of comparatively rapid growth in the years ahead. Certainly the opportunities for such expansion are much greater to-day than they were at earlier stages of our history, and it is significant to note that the United States advanced rapidly at a somewhat similar stage in her growth.

What lands have we available for future settlement? This is a question which will be of particular interest to members of this committee. Actually there is no absolutely complete and factual data upon which to base an accurate estimate of the amount of new land readily available for future settlement. Several estimates have been made, not all of which agree. The Canada Year Book for 1945 shows agricultural lands, present and potential, as approximately 350,000,000 acres. This total embraces agricultural land of all classes and land that has agricultural possibilities in any sense. Of this total approximately 175,000,000 acres are occupied. Of the occupied land about 89,000,000 acres are being cultivated, while another 30 per cent, or 53,000,000 acres is in prairie or natural pasture. This table from the Year Book shows the unoccupied lands as totalling about 175,000,000 acres but these figures do not indicate the available land. They include large areas of forested lands which must be regarded as being in better economic use as they are at present; areas unsuitable for settlement, and in addition many areas that must be regarded as too remote from present means of transportation. Of the total relatively available lands several estimates have been made, as I have previously indicated. Dr. Booth, of the Economics Branch, Department of Agriculture, recently stated that there were about 27,000,000 acres of unused and seasonably accessible land which would be suitable for agricultural settlement that would provide between 158,000 and 160,000 farms. This included all of Canada exclusive of the Yukon and the Northwest Territories, and may be regarded as a conservative estimate. Another authority estimated that it would be reasonable to assume that there are about 45,000,000 acres of arable land in a virgin condition. He added that in time

most of this potentially arable land would be developed but its development will be slower as compared with the opening up of the prairies in the early years of this century. A few years ago our own department made an unoccupied land survey of the four western provinces to ascertain with reasonable accuracy the amount of land still available, its location, and its potential capacity to support additional farming population. The figures which we secured represented a correlation of all presently available soil survey data, information secured from the provinces and municipalities, combined with our own field examination work. This showed approximately 25,000,000 acres in the four western provinces after eliminating forest land regarded as more important to be retained for this purpose and those areas regarded as unsuitable for agricultural development. This estimate included all lands not in productive occupancy. In the east we estimate another twelve to fifteen million acres.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: That estimate includes only the non-productive land; it would be exclusive of land owned personally by settlers?

Mr. McGOWAN: That is right.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: A man might have 640 acres of land and farm only half of it.

Mr. McGOWAN: We did not include the balance of his land. Whatever figure may be accepted we have ample lands for future development—not our best lands but of such quality as will appeal to selected families looking for new homes.

In connection with lands available I should like to illustrate the difficulty of estimating the amount of land readily available for settlement. In 1941 the first detailed survey of land in Central British Columbia was completed. This covered a very small area 70 miles north and south and 24 miles east and west centering on Prince George. This showed that the total arable land in this comparatively small rectangular area was 282,000 acres, of which at that date only 10,053 acres had been cleared and cultivated, or less than 4 per cent. Of the total arable land, 125,000 acres were classified as light clearing and available for immediate settlement.

Later a reconnaissance survey of the Central British Columbia area was started and Dr. Archibald, head of our Experimental Farms, stated as follows: "In the railway belt in Central British Columbia soil survey work on a broad reconnaissance basis has so far covered about 3,000,000 acres of land and in the area already mapped there are indications of around 1,500,000 acres of arable land in this belt.

In connection with our lands there is one further point to which I should like to make reference. A great development is still possible in the open plains area of the prairie provinces, which can be made a reality only through irrigation. At present there are 500,000 acres irrigated and investigations made to date indicate that at least 3,000,000 acres more could be irrigated. The completion of these extensive irrigation systems would change considerably the whole agricultural and industrial outlook of western Canada. For example, in the Red Deer River diversion project, to cost approximately seven million dollars, approximately 500,000 acres could be irrigated. It is estimated that this would support 7,500 farmers, or approximately 35,000 people upon the land. It is also a conservative estimate that for each person living on irrigated land at least another person is employed in urban pursuits, so that this territory alone could support at least 70,000 people. It would support the operation of sugar beet factories, vegetable canning factories, and an extensive live stock feeding and finishing industry. The irrigation projects at present under consideration, when carried out, will be the means of establishing family-sized farms in areas that are now very low in population. The results, secured not only in the United States but also in Canada, have shown very definitely that irrigation increases

population, brings prosperity to the districts concerned, and helps in the establishment of new industries.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: How do you define a family-sized farm in the sense in which you use it here?

Mr. McGOWAN: In the prairie provinces a family-sized farm might range anywhere from forty to one hundred and sixty acres.

In the past immigration has always been closely associated with settlement on the land, and in the future it is likely to have an important bearing on the development of a constructive land policy for this country. Prior to this war agricultural expansion in Canada declined and interest in the land had shown a steady decrease. During the '30's there were numerous farms available for purchase and resettlement. The census of 1941 showed more than 32,000 abandoned or idle farm properties totalling approximately 5,000,000 acres. Some of the slack will be taken up by the Veterans' Land Act and by the return to the land of some of those engaged in war industries. Improved prices for farm products have also changed the picture somewhat. Looking to the future, however, I am convinced that we shall be faced with a replacement or resettlement problem which will have to be met. It will represent part of our problem for an efficient land utilization policy. Whether or not we can secure a sufficient number of replacements from our own Canadian population is extremely doubtful unless an assisted policy of land settlement is established in each province somewhat along the lines of the policy being followed in Quebec. Moreover, it is becoming very apparent that greater attention all over Canada must be given to the conservation of our soils, which will always represent our greatest asset. It is recognized today that we have been drawing fairly heavily on this national bank account. In any program of land conservation we need an intensification of agricultural production in which the family farm home should be the important factor. It has been suggested that with modern machinery and proper organization we could produce all our food requirements with about ten per cent of our people on the land, but very few would agree that this would be in the best interests of our national life and economy. An adequate land policy for the future must provide for the preservation of our soil fertility and for the stability and security of our greatest industry. To effectively carry this out, new settlement, as well as replacement or resettlement in many districts, will be necessary.

One other factor in connection with our agricultural position today is perhaps worthy of mention. One of the problems today is the maintenance of a supply of adequate and competent farm help. It is well known that there is a very definite shortage of farm labour. Many of our farmers who normally would apply for such labour no longer do so, as they know it is simply not available. Many of our former farm workers have moved to other employment while some have settled on places of their own. Many references have been made to the wonderful production from our farms during the war years with a greatly depleted labour supply. Those results were secured only through the combined efforts of men, women, and children. It is doubtful, however, if they can sustain the effort which they put forth under the impulse of war conditions, even though the need today is equally as great as it was then. For efficiency in operation and the proper conservation of our soils we need a supply of farm labour greater than is evident today.

I suggested earlier that our department co-operates wherever possible in the settlement of our own Canadian people on the land: For example, we have a small French-Canadian branch of our service which devotes almost its entire time to the settlement and development of lands served by our lines in Northern Quebec. In 1914 the Transcontinental Railway was completed through the territory now known as the Abitibi and at that time there were fewer than 1,000 people resident in that area. It was regarded by many as an extremely difficult pioneer country and by most people as totally unsuitable for farm settlers. By

1931 the population had increased to 23,692. Under a progressive policy of colonization 38 new rural communities or parishes were opened up and settled between 1931 and 1941. This covered the settlement of approximately 5,700 families and in 1941 the population had increased to approximately 70,000. Freight traffic is steadily increasing and a growing market is being built up for our own industrial products. This settlement has also helped our mining and forestry development through opening up the country and providing a local labour supply. One has only to visit these people in their homes to see and realize the possibilities for the future. In the short space of 30 years a virtual wilderness has been transformed into one of the most promising areas of our Dominion, and a still greater development lies ahead. May I emphasize one point. Apart altogether from the natural wealth of this territory the real basis of development lies largely in the increase of population, with willing hands to do the pioneer work that is necessary. Our North Country, (including our Northwest) with all its potential riches, is a challenge to the Canadian people to-day, as the opening of the West was at the beginning of the century. May I provide one further simple illustration to indicate the value of development to the Railway in a new territory such as this. A few years ago we undertook to organize the picking and marketing of the blueberry crop in the Abitibi, for which there was a great demand both in Canada and in the United States. It is sufficient to say that with the co-operation of all those interested, the organization of this work reached a point last year where with a favourable crop there were shipped 537 carloads from the two districts of Lake St. John and the Abitibi. This natural crop, with no expenditure for planting or cultivation, is producing a considerable amount of new wealth for the province and the communities.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Have you any information, Mr. McGowan, as to the value of a car of blueberries?

Mr. McGOWAN: I should have those figures, but at the moment I could not say. The over-all value of the crop would be approximately \$4,000,000.

Mr. CRERAR: That would be from the 537 carloads which you mentioned.

Mr. McGOWAN: I suggested earlier that our company was interested in the further development of the lands and other resources served by our lines. This is more easily understood when you realize that approximately two-thirds of our tonnage comes from the products of agriculture, forestry, and mining. The remaining one-third, consisting mostly of manufactured products, is shipped largely to our rural areas to meet the needs of the consuming population of these basic industries. The importance of a continuing development program in terms of increased traffic is therefore apparent, while the effect of immigration and increased population to provide a greater home market needs no elaboration.

I come now to the United States field where my department has one development representative operating in the Middle West. Since the beginning of the century Canada has secured from the United States many good settlers, most of whom located in the Western provinces. The prospects for securing additional farm settlers are today better than they have been for many years. Farm prices are high in the United States and the number of inquiries regarding settlement in Canada is increasing. In the past we have done a good job in the United States of advertising our tourist opportunities, with consequent benefit to Canada. May I suggest that we should advertise also more widely our resources, our lands, and the opportunities for the investment of capital. Such a policy would attract an increasing number of people and capital, and along with our tourist industry, would produce results of continuing and permanent benefit to our own Canadian people. To do this effectively would require the concerted effort of all bodies interested.

This committee is also interested in the loss of Canadians to the United States, and in your records you have a statement showing this. Along with this I should like to see a similar record showing the movement of immigrants from the United States to Canada. This shows that from 1901 to 1945 a total of 1,465,001 new immigrant arrivals came into Canada from south of our border, and provides a much clearer picture of our net loss.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Many of the new immigrant arrivals returned to the United States.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: And many of the immigrants from Canada returned to Canada.

Mr. McGOWAN: No one will deny that we have lost people to the United States but it is idle to associate this with our own immigration program. The United States was built on a policy of immigration and expansion, and the great development resulting therefrom created many employment opportunities, particularly for trained personnel. In consideration of this problem certain facts stand out clearly. It was the lack of development in Canada and the greater industrial opportunities in the United States that attracted many of our people. It was perhaps inevitable that we should lose some, but it is significant also that our greatest movements were from the Maritime Provinces and the Province of Quebec, where immigration has been low. I believe there will always be a movement of people between our two countries and our greatest hope is that our own development in the future will be such as to attract an increasing number of their people, who can be easily absorbed into our Canadian life.

Those who refer to the loss of Canadian population leave the impression that the United States has been able to keep all of her immigrants. Actually this is far from true. I have here a table showing the net increase in population in the United States by arrival and departure of aliens for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1908-1924.

May I refer the honourable members of the committee to the table headed "Net Increase of Population by Arrival and Departure of Aliens, Fiscal years ended June 30, 1908 to 1924. This statement is of interest as indicating the loss of their immigrant population from year to year, due to economic conditions prevailing. The earlier laws were actuated by a policy of getting the heavy work done by the new immigrants as the older population moved up in the scale. In May, 1921, their first quota law was passed and, as you can see, this did not reduce materially the numbers received. In May, 1924, the Johnson Act was passed reducing the quota from three to two percent, and in March, 1929, the total number of immigrants in each year was fixed at 150,000 on a quota basis.

It has been suggested also that immigration lowers the standard of living and forces our own people to seek a living elsewhere. In my opinion there is no evidence to support this. Most people agree that our employment opportunities and our standard of living are much higher today with 12,000,000 people than they were when our population was but 6,000,000. One investigator in the United States has pointed out that the ten States in the American Union with the highest percentage of immigrants in their population have more than twice the per capita income of the ten States with the lowest percentage. I believe that this is the correct interpretation. It is but logical to assume that a bigger population and an expanding economy will produce increasing opportunities for our own people. We must recognize also that Canada today is regarded as one of the world's underpopulated areas. Out of a world population of about 2,100,000,000 we have about one-half of one percent. This represents our position in a world that is becoming increasingly small in both time and space, and in a post-war world that is today admittedly underfed and undernourished. It is estimated that the world population has more than doubled since 1800

through industrial development and by the major physical resources of the world being brought more fully into use. Within the boundaries of Canada there would appear to be sufficient natural wealth and ample room for growth to provide for a steady and progressive future development program.

	*Immigrant Arrivals in Canada from U.S.A.	Immigrant Arrivals in U.S.A. from Canada and Newfoundland
1901-1910.....	457,964	179,226
1911-1920.....	678,152	742,185
1921-1930.....	224,076	924,515
1931-1940.....	77,813	108,527
1941.....	6,594	11,473
1942.....	5,098	10,599
1943.....	4,401	9,761
1944.....	4,509	10,143
1945.....	6,394	20,909
	1,465,001	2,017,338

* Canada Year Books 1936 and 1945.

Montreal, Quebec,
June 25, 1946.

NET INCREASE OF POPULATION BY ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE OF ALIENS,
FISCAL YEARS ENDED JUNE 30, 1908 TO 1924

Period	Admitted			Departed			Increase
	Immigrant	Non-immigrant	Total	Emigrant	Non-emigrant	Total	
1908.....	782,870	141,825	924,695	395,073	319,755	714,828	209,867
1909.....	751,786	192,449	944,235	225,802	174,590	400,392	543,843
1910.....	1,041,570	156,467	1,198,037	202,436	177,982	380,418	817,619
1911.....	878,587	151,713	1,030,300	295,666	222,549	518,215	512,085
1912.....	838,172	178,983	1,017,155	333,262	282,030	615,292	401,863
1913.....	1,197,892	229,335	1,427,227	308,190	303,734	611,924	815,303
1914.....	1,218,480	184,601	1,403,081	303,338	330,467	633,805	769,276
1915.....	326,700	107,544	434,244	204,074	180,100	384,174	50,070
1916.....	298,826	67,922	366,748	129,765	111,042	240,807	125,941
1917.....	295,403	67,474	362,877	66,277	80,102	146,379	216,498
1918.....	110,618	101,235	211,853	94,585	98,683	193,268	18,585
1919.....	141,132	95,889	237,021	123,522	92,709	216,231	20,790
1920.....	430,001	191,575	621,576	288,315	139,747	428,062	193,514
Total 10 years, 1911-1920.....	5,735,811	1,376,271	7,112,082	2,146,994	1,841,163	3,988,157	3,123,925
1921.....	805,228	172,935	978,163	247,718	178,313	426,031	552,132
1922.....	309,556	122,949	432,505	198,712	146,672	345,384	87,121
1923.....	522,919	150,487	673,406	81,450	119,136	200,586	472,820
1924.....	706,896	172,406	879,302	76,789	139,956	216,745	662,557
Total 4 years, 1921-1924.....	2,344,599	618,777	2,963,376	604,669	584,077	1,188,746	1,774,630
Grand total.....	10,656,636	2,485,789	13,142,425	3,574,974	3,097,567	6,672,541	6,469,884

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. McGowan, that is a splendid brief and is full of information.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Mr. McGowan, in speaking of the European countries you did not mention Germany. You did however mention the fact that there

was a shipping problem. It seems strange to me that with all these so-called displaced persons starving throughout Europe today that we are called upon to provide them with food and clothing. If shipping is available it would be much easier to bring these people here. May I mention another point? We have in Canada many German prisoners of war. Some of them have been working for the Abitibi Lumber Company for I think four years. Many of them have first-class ability. Since our own people have almost quit working in the bush and on the farms, it would seem to me that there would be no shipping problem involved in keeping these German prisoners of war in Canada. I do not know where we would get better settlers. Apart altogether from any prejudices we may have these young men were taken into the German army, but they are now very anxious to remain in Canada.

You also mention in your remarks the land that is available for immigration purposes, but you do not take into consideration the millions of acres of farm land now being operated by people who are anxious to sell. They are at the retiring age and their families have gone to university and refuse to farm. I know of many people in western Canada who are waiting for someone to come around and buy their place. This very splendid scheme of the government to place returned soldiers on the land met with bitter disappointment. Not 10 per cent of the anticipated number are anxious to go on the land. I am very anxious to see a number of these German prisoners of war remain in Canada.

Mr. McGOWAN: With respect to shipping, Senator, I may say that a good deal of shipping is tied up and will not be released for some little time.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: It is hard for me to believe that with the shipbuilding facilities we have, and since we are able to build ships for Norway and Russia, that it should take very long to catch up on our shipping facilities.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Mr. McGowan, what has been your experience with the Sudeten Germans settled in Warburg?

Mr. McGOWAN: They have been exceptionally good; as you know a number of them joined the armed forces.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That is, the allied forces?

Mr. McGOWAN: Yes, the allied forces, after they came to Canada. They left their farms and fought with our own Canadian army.

Hon. Mr. EULER: What has been your general experience with German immigrants? How do you find the people of German origin or those who come direct from Germany?

Mr. McGOWAN: They make excellent settlers. Strangely enough, Senator Euler, and as Senator Crerar knows as he took a very active part in the bringing out of these people and settling them, that these Sudeten people for the most part did not know anything about farming; as a matter of fact, when we got them most of them could not harness a horse. However, they were established in northern Saskatchewan.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: On some of the worst land in the area.

Mr. McGOWAN: They have made exceptionally good progress. Most of those people today are anxious to bring out their friends and relatives.

Hon. Mr. EULER: It is probably too early to consider that question, as a government policy, permitting Germans to come in. I think it can be said that there are close to half a million people in Canada, who are of German origin or who came direct from Germany, and who have made excellent Canadian citizens.

Mr. McGOWAN: There is no question about that.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: If one reads a list of the men from Saskatchewan who won distinction in the last war, they will see many German names.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: In the opening pages of your brief, and when speaking of the possible immigration from Europe, you omitted to refer to Germany.

Mr. McGOWAN: I wrote this brief rather hurriedly, and since Germany is occupied at the present time and will not be free for some time to come, that is the reason I did not include it.

Hon. Mr. HUSHION: How many German prisoners of war are there still in Canada today?

Mr. McGOWAN: I have no idea of the number.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Most of them are here today.

Hon. Mr. HUSHION: Have they indicated a desire to remain in Canada?

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Yes, they have.

Hon. Mr. HUSHION: Then why not let them stay?

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Speaking personally, I had some horses placed with the Abitibi people and the German prisoners of war were driving them. They came to me and so I became personally acquainted with some of them. They asked me about the possibilities of remaining in Canada. I said that I did not know the situation. Some of them had come from large farms in Germany and were accustomed to handling stock.

Hon. Mr. HUSHION: Of course Mr. McGowan is not interested in the people who are here, but is interested in bringing out other people. But is there no one in our Immigration Department who solicits prisoners to ascertain whether they wish to remain in Canada and become good citizens? Is that not a question for this committee to consider?

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: That is a question of government policy.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: I do not know what the international situation is, since there is no government in Germany today. Perhaps prisoners must be returned to the land of their origin. All I could tell them to do was make application to return before leaving Canada.

Hon. Mr. HUSHION: Have they made application to stay?

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Many of them have made application to stay, and the sugar beet men are anxious to have some of them stay.

Hon. Mr. HUSHION: I have spoken to people who employ these prisoners and they say they are good workers and clean, healthy people.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: They are clean, healthy, hard-working people. They had special camps in which they were given so many cords of wood to cut each week. In many cases they were all through their allotted work in three days. They also made many things, including musical instruments, out of wood.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: We highly appreciate what we have heard from Mr. McGowan.

Mr. M. W. MAXWELL, Division of Development and Research, Canadian National Railways: I think, honourable senators, the function of my division has been pretty well covered by Mr. Fairweather.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: What is your division?

Mr. MAXWELL: The Division of Development and Research. We are concerned in industrial development, both here and in our off-line offices in the United States and in England.

Hon. Mr. EULER: What has that to do with immigration?

Mr. MAXWELL: Perhaps it is only an indirect relationship.

Hon. Mr. EULER: The biggest objection to immigration of industrial people comes from our industrial people.

Hon. Mr. HUSHION: Their objection is probably well-founded. What we need is people to go on the land. We have always heard that objection in

the large labouring centres. I know there is not too much work around Montreal, and that is one point where objection is raised.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Do you not think the amount of production depends on the amount of population? I have found that the heaviest production is where the population is heaviest.

Hon. Mr. HUSHION: I know the people as a whole are very cautious about immigrants. They are not objecting provided the immigrants go to the farms, and develop our western country. We must guard against immigrants taking up industrial positions.

Hon. Mr. BLAIS: Noranda, and other places in northern Quebec claim there are not enough men to work in the mines.

Hon. Mr. HUSHION: If that is true they should get the men, if they can. But speaking very generally for Montreal, the people as a whole resent immigrants coming there, where there is not too much work and where the pays is not too high and taking what work there is. I believe the policy of this committee and of the government should be to bring in immigrants who are willing to go on the land.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: My argument has always been that Montreal is too large a city for a country of Canada's population. If there are too many people in Montreal for the work to be done there, you could move them out as you did previously.

Hon. Mr. HUSHION: I am not objecting to the admission of immigrants who go back to the land.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: In order to maintain your city you need more people in this country.

The CHAIRMAN: Senator Roebuck, what was it you wanted this gentleman to tell you?

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: To tell me of the activities of the department of which he is head.

Mr. McGOWAN: Perhaps I could enlarge a little on what Mr. Fairweather said. My division is one undertaking a continuous study of the natural resources of the country, interpreting them in the proper terms of opportunity for the country, and putting them in the form of prospective opportunities in Canada.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: If you followed the policy Mr. Fairweather described to us you would bring industry here. There would be no difficulty so far as employment is concerned. It would make for employment, rather than for keener competition for jobs.

Mr. MAXWELL: It would make more employment, because with more industry you would need more men.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Are you fostering new kinds of industry, or the industries that are already here?

Mr. MAXWELL: We are trying to foster the industry that exists. If we confined our activities to Canada alone we would have a very limited field.

We have one other function, which I think is important. We place, or attempt to place, the various opportunities before the individual or the corporation who might be interested. We have developed our studies and have placed the result of them before the people who might be interested whether they are in the United States or Great Britain. Our work in England during the war years was practically nil, but now we are resuming our contact work there.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: You agree with Mr. Fairweather that we have plenty of resources if we could just apply ourselves to them?

Mr. MAXWELL: Yes. On this point of blueberries—it is a minor one—there was a corporation coming into Canada to freeze fruit products on a large scale.

When we were consulted about it we mentioned the blueberry crop. Operations were carried on for one year before the war, and then were suspended for the duration. During that time, these people packed nine hundred thousand pounds of fruit and vegetables, and one million pounds of blueberries, a commodity as to which they had no notion of doing anything when they came into Canada.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Until you suggested it?

Mr. MAXWELL: Yes. On that point I might mention that the 537 cars of blueberries mentioned does not represent the whole crop of \$4,000,000. The very large centres of the blueberry crop are in northern Ontario, in the bush of Quebec around the Saguenay river, and in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Does the federal government maintain activities along the same line?

Mr. MAXWELL: I doubt if they have gone as far as we have. We present the project to the individual who might take advantage of it. I think a certain amount of work is done through the officers of the government, but we, in our survey, place the project before whatever industry might be interested in locating in Canada. These industries are selected when we have a project that might interest them.

Hon. Mr. HUSHION: Speaking about federal assistance, I know some years ago we decided to freeze blueberries from the Saguenay district and ship them out to the United States. We shipped about twenty-five cars, and never had federal assistance of any kind. The only assistance we received came from the province.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: What about the Research Council?

Hon. Mr. HUSHION: The Research Council is not interested.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Is it not necessary to have a bush fire before you have a good crop of blueberries?

Hon. Mr. HUSHION: I don't know about that.

Coming back to the problem of new industries, take the case of a man who wants to start a business in western Canada. If he is not interfering with the production of industries in eastern Canada—say in Toronto—he might be given some of the financial aid he needs. It seems that the industries in eastern Canada are throttling the business of western Canada. That is one reason we are rather slow in developing along industrial lines in western Canada.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: I do not agree with that.

Hon. Mr. HUSHION: The point is that the capital is located in eastern Canada.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: That is a recognized fact. Localized banking in the United States has done much to develop that country.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I must say it has been a treat for us to have these gentlemen from the C.N.R. with us here to-day.

The Committee adjourned until Tuesday, July 2, at 10.30 a.m.

1946

THE SENATE OF CANADA



PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

Immigration and Labour

On the operation and administration of the
Immigration Act, etc.

No. 5

TUESDAY, 2nd JULY, 1946

The Honourable James Murdock, P.C. Chairman

WITNESSES:

Mr. H. C. P. Cresswell, Chief Commissioner, Department of Immigration and Colonization, Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

Mr. G. M. Hutt, Development Commissioner, Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

Mr. Frank W. Collins, Industrial Manager, Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

COMMUNICATIONS:

Letter from the Hudson's Bay Company.

Letter from Mr. R. McC. Walker, Toronto, Ontario.

OTTAWA

EDMOND CLOUTIER

PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

1946

STANDING COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND LABOUR

The Honourable JAMES MURDOCK, P.C., Chairman

The Honourable Senators

Aseltine	Donnelly	McGeer
Blais	Dupuis	Molloy
Bouchard	Euler	Murdock
Bourque	Ferland	Pirie
Buchanan	Haig	Robertson
Burchill	Hardy	Robinson
Calder	Horner	Roebuck
Campbell	Hushion	Taylor
Crerar	Lesage	Vaillancourt
Daigle	Macdonald (<i>Cardigan</i>).	Veniot
David	McDonald (<i>Shediac</i>)	Wilson

ORDER OF REFERENCE

EXTRACT from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Senate, Wednesday, May 8, 1946.

"That the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour be authorized and directed to examine into the Immigration Act (R.S.C. Chapter 93 and Amendments) its operation and administration and the circumstances and conditions relating thereto including (a) the desirability of admitting immigrants to Canada, (b) the type of immigrant which should be preferred, including origin, training and other characteristics, (c) the availability of such immigrants for admission, (d) the facilities, resources and capacity of Canada to absorb, employ and maintain such immigrants, and (e) the appropriate terms and conditions of such admission;

And that the said Committee report its findings to this house;

And that the said Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records."

L. C. MOYER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, 2nd July, 1946.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour met this day at 10.30 o'clock, a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Murdock, Chairman; Crerar, Horner, Macdonald (*Cardigan*), Molloy, Robinson, Roebuck—7.

The official reporters of the Senate were in attendance.

The Committee resumed consideration of the order of reference of 8th May, 1946, directing the Committee to examine into the operation and administration of the Immigration Act, etc.

Mr. H. C. P. Cresswell, Chief Commissioner, Dept. of Immigration and Colonization, Canadian Pacific Railway Co. was heard and read a brief outlining the organization of the Department; the Company's past activities in the field of immigration and colonization; and suggestions regarding future immigration.

Mr. G. M. Hutt, Development Commissioner, Canadian Pacific Railway Co. was heard and read a brief on the benefit to Canada of a sound immigration policy to increase the population and develop the natural resources.

Mr. Frank W. Collins, Industrial Manager, Canadian Pacific Railway Co. was heard and read a brief on the industrial development of Canada, and recommending a broad immigration policy for Canada.

The Honourable Senator Roebuck read a letter from the Hudson's Bay Co., re unsold land held by the Company; and a letter from R. McC. Walker, Toronto, Ontario, advocating that children from Europe be admitted to Canada.

At 12:50 p.m., the Committee adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, 3rd July, at 10.30 a.m.

Attest

H. ARMSTRONG,
Clerk of the Committee.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

THE SENATE,

OTTAWA, Tuesday, July 2, 1946.

The Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour, which was authorized and directed to examine into the Immigration Act, met this day at 10.30 a.m.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, we will proceed with the business of the committee. We have with us this morning Mr. Cresswell, Chief Commissioner of the Department of Immigration and Colonization of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Mr. H. C. P. CRESSWELL (Chief Commissioner, Department of Immigration and Colonization, Canadian Pacific Railway Company): Mr. Chairman and honourable members. In response to your invitation, and by direction of Mr. D. C. Coleman, Chairman and President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, as Chief Commissioner of the Department of Immigration and Colonization of the Company, I have thought it well to bring to your attention, briefly, the following: (1) An outline of the organization of the Department; (2) The Company's past activities in the field of immigration and colonization; and (3) Some suggestions regarding future immigration.

Mr. G. M. Hutt, Development Commissioner, and Mr. F. W. Collins, Industrial Manager, the other officers representing the Company, are associated with me in the presentation of our Company's viewpoints. We will each, to the best of our ability, answer such questions in regard to our respective departmental activities as honourable members may desire to ask, in the hope that the information we are able to give will be of some assistance to the Committee in dealing with the important subject which you have under consideration.

Having devoted some thirty-five years of my life to the work of immigration and colonization, I recognize, as you do, the many-sided nature of the problem, the great number of diverse views as to the policy and regulations which should be adopted for its solution, and the difficulties with which the Government is confronted in dealing with these complex matters.

The headquarters of the Department of Immigration and Colonization of the Canadian Pacific is located at Montreal and is staffed by men of long experience in immigration and colonization work. In addition to the general supervision of the departmental activities in Canada, the United States, Great Britain and Europe, we prepare at, and distribute from, headquarters, booklets and pamphlets dealing with colonization affairs; write and direct the presentation of newspaper advertising which the Department may, from time to time, undertake, and, in addition, we have since 1919, without interruption, prepared and directed the publication of the departmental monthly review "Agricultural and Industrial Progress in Canada" which, at present, has a circulation of approximately 7,500 copies per month. The Review has sixteen pages and contains articles relating to agriculture and industry, covering the latest reports of agricultural and industrial conditions and trade outlook, and dealing often in a comprehensive way with individual industries. From headquarters, in co-operation with the Department of Public Relations, we also design and direct the installation of permanent agricultural exhibits in our various departmental offices and stations.

In Eastern Canada we maintain district departmental offices at Montreal, dealing with colonization affairs in Quebec and Eastern Ontario, with a branch

at Kingston, Ontario; at Toronto, covering the rest of Ontario; and at Kentville, Nova Scotia, for the Maritime Provinces. These offices are each in charge of a District Superintendent experienced in colonization work, with adequate office staff and necessary travelling colonization agents attached. Their duties are, by their own efforts and through affiliated organizations, to seek out opportunities for establishing families upon farms, and families in agricultural employment, and to supervise such settlements; to assist established persons within their respective districts in completing nominations in favour of relatives admissible under current government regulations and to submit on their behalf such nominations for governmental approval. In normal immigration times it was also the duty of district offices to secure placement for farm labourers and domestic servants.

In Western Canada we are represented by the Canada Colonization Association, which is a subsidiary of the Department of Immigration and Colonization of the Canadian Pacific. The Association, of which I am the President, is administered by a General Manager with headquarters at Winnipeg, branch offices at Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary and Edmonton, and sub-branches at Brandon, Yorkton, Medicine Hat, Lethbridge and other points. Each district office is in charge of a Superintendent of long experience in colonization and land settlement work, with necessary office and field staff. The duties of the district superintendents are similar to those which I have outlined in respect of established offices in Eastern Canada, with the added responsibilities of farm supervision for absentee owners, farm management, and agricultural appraisal work. It is interesting to note that from 1925—the year the Canada Colonization Association was taken over exclusively by the Canadian Pacific—to the end of 1945 the Association settled 9,021 families on 2,098,511 acres of land in the western provinces, at a price valuation of \$40,529,415. Our Colonization organization in Canada—both the departmental and that of the Canada Colonization Association—was maintained throughout the war, minus those members of the staff who joined the services. With their return and reinstatement now completed, the organization as a whole is at pre-war strength and capable of assuming extensive activities in colonization and land settlement affairs throughout the Dominion.

In the United States we maintain a sub-headquarters of the Department of Immigration and Colonization at St. Paul, Minnesota, in charge of a District Superintendent. This office deals with all prospective United States settlers west of the State of Indiana moving to either eastern or western Canada, and directs such settlers to one or other of our District offices in Canada for settlement. Our activities in that portion of the United States lying east of Indiana are administered from the headquarters of the Department at Montreal.

Overseas we maintain a sub-headquarters of the Department at London, England, in charge of a Colonization Manager for Great Britain and Europe, and also a branch office of the Department at Liverpool under a District Representative. Prior to the war we maintained branch offices of the Department at Liverpool, Glasgow, Belfast, Bristol, Newcastle and Birmingham, and, for the Continent a Continental Superintendent, with headquarters at London. Necessary field staff covered the western European countries, including Holland, Belgium, France, Germany and Switzerland. At Copenhagen we had a Colonization Representative for Scandinavia, and, at Prague and Zagreb for the countries east of the Rhine. All of these branch offices, with the exception of Liverpool, are now closed and will not be reopened until immigration conditions warrant such action. In the meantime, our European Colonization Manager is dealing as best he can with the very large volume of persons in Britain desirous of emigrating to Canada who are in touch with the Canadian Pacific. He is likewise giving closest possible study to the situation in the western continental

countries, both as regards the interest in Canada of nationals of those countries, as well as the enormous problem of displaced persons within those same countries.

For more than sixty years now the Canadian Pacific has been making a valuable contribution to the development of Canada by its services in helping immigrants to get established here. The extent of these services have not, in the nature of things, been fully realized, nor have the results achieved been generally known. It is, therefore, appropriate to mention briefly here some of the activities in which this Company has participated during the past twenty-five years or more.

The policy adopted by the Government after the first world war was designed to encourage people to come here to engage in agriculture and to discourage all others unless they had assured employment to come to, or could show that they had a fairly substantial amount of capital. Many of the British immigrants available at that time belonged to classes which possessed little or no capital. Therefore, the principal, if not the only opportunity for them in Canada, was to get a start as farm workers, unless some means of financing their settlement were made possible. To assure that jobs were procurable, the Colonization Departments of the Railways actively canvassed farmers and ascertained where employment could be given to single men, married couples, and heads of families; in the latter case with separate accommodation for the families. With the information about these jobs and the assurance of the employment obtained, it was possible to recruit people in the British Isles to fill them and to enable large numbers of British immigrants to get their first start in this country.

The service of our Department did not stop there. These settlers were given as much after-care as possible—they were replaced when necessary, differences between them and their employers were reconciled, and as a result of these services a large proportion of them succeeded in establishing themselves permanently.

In providing farms for British immigrants, the Canadian Pacific took an active part in co-operation with the Overseas Settlement Department of the United Kingdom Dominions Office and others. The establishment of the Clandonald Colony in Alberta by the Canadian Pacific and the Scottish Immigrant Aid Society for immigrants from the Isles of the Hebrides is an example of this. The Company and the United Kingdom Government provided money for the purchase of the land, the construction of buildings, the digging and boring of wells, fencing, live stock, farm machinery and tools for 130 farms, and also financed the cost of initial subsistence for the families, feed for the live stock, and seed for planting in the first year and during the two following years, for many of the settlers. The Colonization Department also gave practical help and advice in the administration of the settlement, furnished after-care to the settlers and promoted their welfare in many ways. The Company's share in the expenses of the Colony to date has been well over a quarter of a million dollars, of which, however, part is still recoverable.

A somewhat similar arrangement was also made by the Canadian Pacific and the Hudson's Bay Company with the United Kingdom Government for the provision of two hundred farms which were made available for British families with small capital. The Company's share of the expenses in this arrangement, exclusive of land, was in the neighbourhood of \$200,000.

Under the British Family Cottage Scheme, the Canadian Pacific, directly with the United Kingdom Government, on a fifty-fifty basis, provided some one hundred and twenty-eight cottages for occupancy by British farm workers, with a bit of land for home-gardening on which the occupant could also keep a cow, a few pigs and some chickens. Each of the cottages cost about \$1,000 for material and construction.

In addition to the financing of land settlement of British families, finding jobs and providing cottages for additional farm workers, and providing farms on which families could settle and operate on their own account, the Colonization Department of the Canadian Pacific has always stood ready to give practical support to organizations interested in bringing over children, boys for farm work, women for domestic service, agricultural students, as well as to wives and families of men already established here. The Company also co-operated with the United Kingdom and Canadian Governments in providing reduced rates of transportation for British immigrants. In addition to the Scottish Immigrant Aid Society, the Hudson's Bay Land Settlement Scheme, and the British Family Cottaga Scheme previously referred to, the following are some of the other projects undertaken and the organizations fostering immigration to which the Colonization Department of the Canadian Pacific has been able to lend its support in a practical way:—

- The British Reunion Scheme
- The British Students for Macdonald College Scheme
- The British Immigration and Colonization Association (for the recruitment and settlement of boys)
- The Y.M.C.A. and United Church Scheme (for the recruitment and settlement of boys)
- The Fairbridge Farm School for Children
- Dr. Barnardo's Homes.
- Dr. Cossar's Farm Boys Scheme in New Brunswick
- Dr. Fegan's Homes
- The Salvation Army
- The Church Army

Of the foregoing I should like to make special reference to the British Students for Macdonald College Schéme and the Fairbridge Farm School. The former was started in 1926 and up to the beginning of the war a large number of students took advantage of it and benefited from it. The students were specially selected from public schools in Britain and were enrolled for the regular agricultural courses at Macdonald College, employment on farms being found for them between terms. After graduation many were assisted in getting located on farms of their own throughout Canada.

The Fairbridge Farm School provides homes for, and trains British boys and girls for farm work and domestic service. The school in Canada, near Duncan, British Columbia, was established in 1935. Since that year groups of boys and girls have been brought over from Great Britain intermittently. Some parties were brought over even during the war years, when accommodation in ships was available.

The depression stopped the flow of general immigration in 1930. Between that year and 1939 only a comparatively few people reached Canada. Only those who had sufficient capital to enable them to start in farming or in business on their own account being encouraged to come here then, but, nevertheless under departmental auspices, a total of 28,725 souls were moved from overseas during that period, of which 10,718 were British. This total comprised 7,236 single men, 4,427 families, 3,231 domestic servants and 2,965 children.

The efforts to promote British immigration into Canada in the period between the two wars were not altogether negligible. The preference for immigrants from the British Isles has always been paramount, but seldom if ever has it been possible to get them to emigrate to Canada in numbers sufficient to meet this country's population needs.

At the same time there have always been people on the Continent of Europe who have wanted to emigrate to a country where they could feel more secure,

and after the last war the Government felt that it was in the best interests of this country to encourage a selected number of such people to come here. The Railways, through their Colonization Departments, were instrumental in effecting the movement and establishment of large numbers of them who were suitable for settlement in Canada and who have since proved their worth to this country. The Railways were able to help because their Colonization Departments had obtained advance assurances of employment on farms, and because they were in a position to render valuable services to the immigrants in locating places where they could settle down and farm on their own account. As a result of this movement, tens of thousands of acres of land have been cleared and brought into a state of production. In general, these immigrants have added immensely to the wealth of the country.

Mention also can be made here of the European immigrants who went to work in the sugar beet farms in the neighbourhood of Lethbridge. The majority of these were Slovaks and Hungarians, but there were also large numbers of Mennonites from Russia, to whom further reference will be made, as well as some Polish nationals, Lithuanians and others. The Canadian Pacific Colonization Department helped in the arrangements for the distribution of these workers amongst the farms. Large numbers of them were married men who had left their families in Europe and, by means of transportation and credit with which the Canadian Pacific furnished them, they were enabled to bring out their wives and families without waiting several years which otherwise they would have had to do. After their arrival, the women and children were given the opportunity of supplementing the earnings of their husbands and fathers by also working in the beet fields during the summer months, thereby accumulating in a short time sufficient funds to repay the credit advanced as well as to buy equipment to work land. The next step was to acquire farms of their own.

The Mennonites who came to Canada in 1923 and the following years were refugees from Russia. The Canadian Pacific was asked to help these people to get to Canada. Altogether about twenty-one thousand of them were brought here. They had been obliged to leave all their belongings behind and the Canadian Pacific furnished credit for their transportation to the amount of \$1,767,398. It is a gratifying tribute to the honesty and integrity of these people that every cent of this huge credit has since been repaid by them. Their settlement on land was supervised by the Canada Colonization Association, which, as previously stated, is a subsidiary of the Department of Immigration and Colonization of the Canadian Pacific. Some of these Mennonite families are now to be found on farms of their own in every province of Canada from Ontario to British Columbia. Perhaps the largest settlement is in the neighbourhood of Coaldale, Alberta, where newly-arrived families in 1925 and the following years secured work in the sugar beet fields. Afterwards they were helped to get farms of their own and by their success they attracted others, so that this area is now supporting several times as many people as it did twenty-five years ago.

Immigration from the Continent of Europe in the comparatively few years between the depression and the outbreak of war in 1939 was on a relatively small scale numerically. But the general quality of the immigrants who were selected and came forward from the Continent at that time was superior in that they brought with them sufficient amounts of capital to enable them to acquire farms and engage in farming on their own account from the start. A lot of effort was involved both in recruiting these families and helping them to get settled with as little expense and delay as possible after their arrival. The effort was largely successful because of the efforts of the Colonization Departments of the Railways in obtaining information about suitable farms beforehand, providing facilities for the immigrants to inspect them on arrival, and helping in negotiating the purchase of the farms selected. Each family had to bring with it a minimum of \$1,000; and during the five years immediately preceding the outbreak of the

last war the Canadian Pacific brought over and settled more than 1,200 of these families who have proved to be some of the best immigrants ever to come to this country. These immigrants took over many farms in the older provinces that had been neglected or where production for some years previous had been negligible, and converted them into highly productive properties. In doing so they created employment not only for themselves but for others as well.

As the war approached and the unrest in Europe increased, groups of refugees able to qualify for admission to Canada as agriculturists began to arrive with more or less capital and were settled by the Canadian Pacific in the neighbourhood of Hamilton, as well as in eastern Ontario and some in Manitoba and Nova Scotia. Many of these have met with outstanding success.

Another group of refugees which came to Canada in 1939 were the Sudetens from Czechoslovakia. They had been forced to leave their homes in that country by the Nazi occupation in the previous October. The Canadian Government requested the Colonization Departments of the two Railways to undertake the settlement of these people in Canada and money for the purpose was furnished in Great Britain. In all, about three hundred families and one hundred single men had arrived prior to Atlantic transportation closing down early in the war. These people were settled in two different groups of approximately equal sizes. One group of about one hundred and fifty families and some single men were settled by the Colonization Department of the Canadian Pacific near Tupper, B.C., under the supervision of the Canada Colonization Association; the other by the Canadian National in northwest Saskatchewan. More than one hundred of the original one hundred and fifty families are still in the Tupper Settlement where each is in possession and occupation of a farm of its own and all are doing well. Some forty families left the settlement after two years and were found employment in industries in which they had had previous experience in their native land. Eventually practically all of the single men and some of the heads of families enlisted in the Canadian forces.

From this brief review of the activities of the Canadian Pacific in connection with immigration into Canada during the past twenty-five years or so two facts stand out. One is the valuable and important part which the Canadian Pacific, through its Colonization Department, has played both in fostering immigration and in facilitating the settlement of immigrants—a fact which indicates, incidentally, the possibilities of our being able to render equally valuable service in the future. The second is that getting immigrants of the right type and holding them here is not so simple a matter as many Canadians apparently suppose it is. An immense amount of co-operative effort is required to make possible the numerous individual arrangements and adjustments necessary to enable new settlers to get their bearings in a country strange to them.

History is now repeating itself in respect to emigration and immigration. The general pattern is very much the same now as it was twenty-five years ago. Now, as then, there are large numbers of people in the British Isles and on the Continent of Europe who are looking to Canada for an opportunity to start life afresh in a country where they believe they will be safer and where opportunities are greater. Now, as then, press and speakers all over Canada are vigorously and persistently expressing the need for and advantage of a greater population, and urging the government to do something about it. In the old pattern there were some differences, however. The number of people now anxious to come to Canada is infinitely greater than it was twenty-five years ago, while the need for people in Canada is being much more strongly and more widely expressed than it was at that time.

There are, undoubtedly, considerable numbers of people in Britain, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and other western countries who, providing international currency was stabilized, would have ample funds to establish themselves in this

country without financial assistance of any kind, while the number of displaced persons in Europe of various nationalities runs into hundreds of thousands, a large percentage of whom would be capable of doing useful work in Canada if they were allowed to come and means could be found to get them here.

It is safe to say that the possibilities of providing opportunities for newcomers to establish themselves in Canada were never greater. We have a severe shortage of general farm labour—apart from the shortage in the beet sugar fields—and there are various other basic industries which could easily absorb more people. Such workers apparently cannot be found among the established population and unless they are brought from elsewhere some of our most valuable industries will undoubtedly suffer for lack of raw materials. As our resources are made accessible and brought into use, more opportunities for employment will be created and the wealth of the country increased. Numerous new industries have been established and opportunities for the establishment of many more are plentiful. There is an enormous amount of building and re-building to be done—of new construction as well as reconstruction work—all over the Dominion. As increasing numbers of people are employed on work which is now urgent and which will be required in the future development of the country, it may be anticipated that intensive methods of farming will become more general, thus affording in its turn opportunities for settlement on the land of additional large numbers of people.

There is, therefore, no need for apprehension about the ability of the country to absorb large numbers of people. By making full use of the knowledge of the problems involved in the migration of people and their settlement in Canada gained from the experience of the past twenty-five years, it will be possible to devise ways and means whereby a needed influx of population can be obtained and the absorption of it into the life of the country arranged effectively.

The opportunity of getting people of a desirable type afforded by the present situation in the United Kingdom, as well as in Northwest Europe, should not be missed. It is an opportunity which may not last for long and if it is not grasped now many of those who would naturally prefer to come to Canada will be forced to go elsewhere. Australia has already been able to obtain a great advantage by announcing a liberal immigration policy, open not only to people from the United Kingdom with free and assisted passage, but also to Scandinavians and the people of the Northwest European countries, while the United States' quota permits the admittance of a substantial number of people annually from all these countries as well as from Great Britain. The announcement of a policy in regard to immigration by the Canadian Government, even though shipping is not yet available for the transportation of immigrants, would place Canada at least on something like even terms with regard to the possibility of securing the people this country needs and can advantageously absorb.

The complexity of the numerous factors that go to make up the problem of immigration and colonization as a whole have kept us ever mindful of the fact that for a country like Canada a forward-looking view must be maintained. Only in this way can the Dominion benefit from the turn of events. For instance, when shipping is more freely available will it not be asked: "What has been done to bring together the opportunity in Canada and the prospective migrant overseas?" As has been indicated, the Department of Immigration and Colonization of the Canadian Pacific Railway fully realizes the magnitude as well as the deep issues involved in that aspect of Canada's future growth as it will be determined by immigration and colonization—and it stands ready, as always, to co-operate with the Dominion Government to the fullest possible extent.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That is a splendid memorandum. It has the ring of practical knowledge and has impressed me greatly. It shows much activity

on the part of the Canadian Pacific Railway, both in getting immigrants and looking after them on their arrival here. I think you have rightly stated, Mr. Cresswell, that that extent of the railway's activities is not appreciated in Canada as much as it may be elsewhere.

Mr. CRESSWELL: We have not advertised the extent of our activities purposely, Senator Roebuck, and I hope I did not dwell too long on the past activities of the company.

The CHAIRMAN: Not at all.

Mr. CRESSWELL: The object I had in mind was simply to indicate that what we had done in the past we are prepared, and should be able, to do better in the future.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Quite so.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Mr. Cresswell, you state here, and your statement confirms the general impression I have secured, that there are quite a number of persons in Britain who would like to come to Canada.

Mr. CRESSWELL: Yes, sir.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: What type of immigrants would they be? Would they want to settle on the land?

Mr. CRESSWELL: Well, Senator Crerar, as you may know, I was, up to last year, the company's European colonization manager, with headquarters in London.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Yes, I knew that.

Mr. CRESSWELL: I was over there for fifteen years, with supervision of Britain and the continent in so far as the recruitment of Canadian Pacific settlers was concerned. The inquiries from the British people—during the war, of course, we were out of touch with the continent—began to come in as early as the spring of 1943. Even then they were beginning to look forward to moving from Britain in the post-war period. Those inquiries were not what you might call generally from farmers. They were from people who had some agricultural background, land-minded at least, and who anticipated having considerable capital in the post-war period. They were making good money during the war, everybody did in Great Britain, and they had no means of spending it, since spending was controlled, so they were accumulating a lot of money and expected that by the end of the war they would have considerable capital to bring with them if the government would permit its withdrawal from Britain. It is not an exaggeration to state that between the beginning of 1943 and when I left England at the end of 1944 the Canadian Pacific received more and better inquiries voluntarily without advertising than we had with advertising in the five years prior to war breaking out.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: That is very interesting.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: With regard to shipping, Mr. Cresswell, the C.P.R. used to maintain their own boats. What is the situation now?

Mr. CRESSWELL: That, of course, Senator Roebuck, is a major problem, the question of shipping on the Atlantic. Speaking for our own company, the Canadian Pacific were probably harder hit as a steamship-owning company than any other steamship line during the period of the war through losses of ships. As a matter of fact, we have only two Duchesses and one Empress coming back, and those three ships have to be completely reconditioned from the engines up before they are back in commercial service.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: How many ships had you before the war started?

Mr. CRESSWELL: We had four Duchesses and three Empresses on the Atlantic, and the Pacific fleet as well. The Pacific fleet has been wiped out completely.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: That situation, Mr. Cresswell, is difficult at the moment, but it will improve with the passing of time.

Mr. CRESSWELL: Yes, it will. We have plans and specifications ready for the building of new Duchess ships, but so far they are not in the hands of the shipbuilders, for various reasons. So it will be some time before the new ships are out. In the meantime other steamship lines have not been so seriously hit. The Cunard Line was not; its magnificent fleet will come back in the comparatively near future. Other steamship lines, like the Holland-American, the Scandinavian-American, the French Line, the Gdynia-American Line—are looking to placing ships on the Atlantic. This would ease the movement of normal immigration if an announcement of policy were made. But this shipping, it is feared, will not begin to tackle the displaced persons problem in Europe, for there are hundreds of thousands of those unfortunate people. That of course is an international problem. If the united governments, through some committee or otherwise, finally decide to seriously clean up the problem, it will require financing and transportation. The finances, I think, will be provided by the United Nations, and personally I cannot see why they will not be able to commandeer among themselves sufficient transportation to move a very large percentage of these displaced persons.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: It seems to me that instead of shipping food to these people for another year it would be a simpler task to bring them here.

Mr. CRESSWELL: Exactly, sir. These displaced persons having suffered for so many years are not going to be very fussy about the accommodation they get crossing the Atlantic or going elsewhere. I am wondering whether the shipping that is not now available could not be found.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That has been running through my mind.

Mr. CRESSWELL: Take the Poles who are being moved to-day from Italy to Britain. I do not know what ships they are using, but surely those people could be brought across the Atlantic just as easily as to Britain.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: We have been selling ships.

Mr. CRESSWELL: I saw in the press the other night that Australia is considering the purchase of twenty Liberty ships for reconversion into transports to solve her immigration problem. If Australia can reconvert Liberty ships into transports, why not Canada?

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Exactly.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Have your officers made any study of these displaced persons in Europe?

Mr. CRESSWELL: Yes, sir, we have. Mr. Cameron, my successor overseas as European colonization manager, has for the last six or seven months been spending most of his time in Europe studying this displaced persons problem.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Can you give us any information as to what kind of people these are, what means they have? I presume they have none at all.

Mr. CRESSWELL: Some of them have, sir. Take, for example, the very large number of people from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, who are at present in Sweden. They became refugees in the early part of the war. Sweden required workers, so they promptly got into employment and are still employed and earning good money. Those persons number about 150,000. Russia wants them to return to their respective countries; they do not want to go; Sweden does not want to force them. But Sweden realizes that the large majority of them want eventually to emigrate to other countries. All reports we get of those people are excellent. They are good types and not without money and experience in agriculture.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: The money they have would be what they have saved in Sweden?

Mr. CRESSWELL: Yes. It would not be sufficient probably to settle them on farms, but they have enough money of their own to cover their immediate expenses. Then take the Poles in Britain. They have been employed either in the services or in munition works throughout the war, and they are not destitute, they are not refugees in that respect. I understand that approximately 90 per cent of the Polish people were originally of the peasant class.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: We had some information on that point last week. It was said that between 50 per cent and 60 per cent were of peasant stock, what we might call farmer stock; some were artisans, some professional men and scientists.

Mr. CRESSWELL: Those people are not down and out; they have some resources; not a great deal, but they have something. Whereas displaced persons on the continent, in the northwest countries are absolutely down and out.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Are they a good class of people?

Mr. CRESSWELL: Some of them are. I would not like to say to what percentage.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: You would not wish to underwrite them all?

Mr. CRESSWELL: No.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: What about the Germans taken out of that part by Russia and sent back out of Czechoslovakia?

Mr. CRESSWELL: There is a very large number of Mennonites in Denmark; I believe they run well on to 300,000. They came from the Danzig area, went into Denmark and are still there. Those people want to emigrate and they are of pure German origin, as against the usual Russian origin of the Mennonites that we looked after years ago. Those people are looking to Alaska for settlement, but they have no money at all. They were forced out of their old homes and are now refugees without capital.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: The Mennonites would probably get some assistance from their brethren in Canada and the United States.

Mr. CRESSWELL: I have no doubt of that.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: May I return to the discussion on the possible types of British settlers. In western Canada we have several outstanding examples of men who came from the British Isles and who have no farming experience. They perhaps came from some city like London, but they are making outstanding successes. Take for instance the Wheeler brothers. One brother made a brilliant success as a farmer, and in the Lloydminster area there are a number who had no farming experience but who had a love for the land and were determined to make a study of it and have been successful.

Mr. CRESSWELL: I had a rather interesting inquiry before I left London, England, and with which I am still in touch and hope eventually to establish something. The inquiry was from a British major of northern Irish descent. While he is not a farmer himself, his parents had been agriculturists in northern Ireland. This young man, before the war, had gotten out of the army, and had gone into finance in New York. He married a United States girl, had a couple of children and accumulated before the outbreak of this war a considerable amount of money. He had £10,000 of his own; he also had, he claimed and still claims, contacts with a lot of money in the United States that may be used for the purpose that he ultimately had in mind. During the war he had discussed with his fellow British Officers the fact that they had no jobs to go back to. They did not wish to return to a sedentary life; they wanted to get out and do things in the dominion. This chap conceived the idea of buying for himself a farm property preferably in British Columbia or Ontario. It should be specially selected for good general farming purposes. Realizing that he did not know anything about farming himself he wanted us to select for him the best farm

manager that we could secure. He was then going to give that farm manager two years to develop the property with his money up to a point that he would expect it to be developed in that period. Then if it was a success he was going to turn his place into a limited company, attract further money from the United States to buy other property, more or less immediately surrounding his own place, and put his brother officers and other selected people on these farms, on something of a crop-sharing basis so that they could develop them among similar lines. That is still under prospect, because the difficulty that immediately arose was the transfer of his original £10,000 from the other side. However, the British government has loosened up on that a little bit, but not to the extent which would permit this young man to go ahead with his idea.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: What about the Lithuanians and Latvians who are in Sweden? Will the Swedish government permit them to transfer their Swedish funds?

Mr. CRESSWELL: That of course I do not know.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: There was a limitation in that respect before the war.

Mr. CRESSWELL: I do not know to what extent Sweden is able to give them American currency. The whole currency situation is chaotic.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Sweden is in first-class shape, and I do not think they would have any difficulty.

Mr. CRESSWELL: I should not think so, but I do not know for sure.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: There is an aspect of this whole problem that has provoked a little thought on my part. We have a situation in Europe today where hundreds of thousands of very good people want to leave the country and start life afresh somewhere else. They have their eyes mainly on America, and perhaps countries like Brazil to a lesser extent, as well as Australia. Many of these excellent people have no funds. The problem is that there are many people over there with little or no money who would think they were in heaven if they had a chance to come to Canada and work with their two hands. That suggestion naturally raises the question in this country: is it wise or desirable to bring people without funds to Canada, with the possibility that they may become public charges? There is still some recollection of conditions as they existed in the 30's and some people have doubts about what the next ten years may bring in this country. Do I overstate that situation?

Mr. CRESSWELL: No, I do not think so.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Have you any suggestions to make?

Mr. CRESSWELL: I think, Senator Crerar, that a lot of the trouble we had in the early 30's through the unemployment of new arrivals, principally continentals, was occasioned by the fact that many thousands had arrived in the immediately previous years with no capital at all. Many of them were married men who had left their wives and families behind in their native countries, and they had borrowed money for their transportation to come to this country, and were paying high rates of interest in the Old Country on that borrowed money. In addition to attempting to take care of their families these new arrivals had other difficulties. When the depression came they had absolutely nothing behind them, and were quickly brought into the folds of unemployment and relief; and eventually very large numbers of them were deported.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: In regard to that point, Mr. Cresswell, the deportations were largely of people who were congregating in cities.

Mr. CRESSWELL: That is true, but they drifted into the cities and became unemployed.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: My recollection is that those who went into the rural areas and smaller villages did not present much of a problem as far as deportation was concerned.

Mr. CRESSWELL: That is true. In any future movement my thought would be that, provided the people brought in were well selected, properly financed, or at least with no debts, and properly placed in this country with secure employment, whatever may happen in the next ten years we should not have much difficulty in so far as their becoming public charges. The farmers are much better off to-day than they were in 1929 and the early 30's.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: I think the success for instance that has attended the settlement of the Sudetens in the Tupper Creek area, and also those who settled under the Canadian National Railways scheme in Walburg, Saskatchewan, is worth a little examination in respect to the whole problem.

Mr. CRESSWELL: I think that is true, but it is up to the United Nations, if they are going to clean up this problem of displaced persons, to realize that it is going to cost a lot of money, and that the money will have to be paid by various nations.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: The problem in the past has not only been that the immigrants sent money home from Canada, but they worked all the summer months, and since there was nothing to prevent them, they sent their money out of the country, and looked to the government for relief during the winter months. It was part of a deliberate scheme on the part of these people, and I know many of them who were buying property back in the Ukraine. Hitler got millions of dollars out of Canada and the United States. Men in my own village were collecting money and sending it out of the country because Hitler promised he would set up a separate Ukraine, and so he got millions of dollars from all over the United States and Canada.

Mr. CRESSWELL: That is true.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Further, it caused a great hardship on the government to support men on relief who had no need for it; it was a deliberate scheme to send their money away, not for paying for their passage, but to buy property.

Mr. CRESSWELL: A good many of them had debts over there.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Well, they would tell you that Canadian money is worth so much over there, and they thought they were getting pretty good wages in Canada.

Hon. Mr. MOLLOY: You have spoken of the high rates of interest they were required to pay for borrowed money on transportation; what rate of interest did they pay?

Mr. CRESSWELL: I have heard of cases where they paid 25 and 30 per cent in some countries.

Hon. Mr. MOLLOY: In other words, usury, not interest.

Mr. CRESSWELL: Yes, exactly.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: In the general exploration of the question, take the Mennonite problem. The Mennonites, I think, without exception have made excellent settlers and become useful citizens of this country.

Mr. CRESSWELL: I do not know a single Mennonite who became a public charge during the depression.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: The only criticism of them during the war was their pacifism. That is, it is against their religious tenets to enlist in combat services and military forces.

Mr. CRESSWELL: Another thing was that their language was German.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: That too created some prejudice. I recall that some of those young fellows who were called up were put at alternative service work, many of them in the National Parks. When I was in the Department of Mines and Resources I had occasion to observe these people at rather close

range, and as a matter of fact they were the best workers that we had in the National Parks anywhere in Canada. I remember one superintendent saying to me, "I can send twenty of the alternative service Mennonite workers out on their own and I know they will be working all the time." The Mennonite community in Canada and the United States is a very large community and, on the whole, a very well-to-do community. I have heard it suggested that Mennonite communities in Canada and the United States are willing to find private funds within their communities to help establish their Mennonite brethren among displaced persons in Europe if they can get permission to come to this country.

Mr. CRESSWELL: That is true, sir.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Well, it seems to me that no obstacle should be put in their way.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That would be splendid. Now, coming back to that question of ships, may I point out that we not only closed our shipyards and stopped building ships, but in the last two months we have actually sold a number of 10,000-tonners, probably six or eight of them, but I am sure of four. You spoke of Liberty ships. What tonnage are they?

Mr. CRESSWELL: I understand they run from ten to fifteen thousand tons.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: The Government of Canada has been selling ships in the same class as the Liberty ship, and I presume—I do not know anything about it—that these ships could have been remodelled into emigrant ships just as well as the Liberty ships that Australia remodelled.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: There may be a question, Senator Roebuck, on the practicability of converting these freighters—for that is what they are—into passenger carrying boats. I remember that question was pretty closely examined into at a time prior to the cessation of the war when there was a good deal of concern as to how we were to bring back the service men from overseas, and my recollection is that it was found impracticable to convert those ships.

Mr. CRESSWELL: I do not know anything about that, Senator Crerar, but in the first war I went to Siberia in a reconverted freighter, the old *Protesilius*. We had 5,000 troops on board, and we got there.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: As you say, these people are not going to be so fussy.

Mr. CRESSWELL: No, considering what they have been through in the last few years.

The CHAIRMAN: If there are no further questions to be asked of Mr. Cresswell, shall we now hear Mr. Hutt?

Mr. G. M. HUTT, Development Commissioner, Canadian Pacific Railway Company: Mr. Chairman, Honourable Members of the Committee:

A sound immigration policy will be beneficial to Canada because increased population will enhance the prospect for the development of our natural resources, and particularly in the relatively lagging west. A sound policy as regards immigration of technical and skilled industrial workers will benefit Canada because there will be a direct impact on our primary industries, and new skills will be made available to our own labour.

The Development Section, of which I am head, and the Industrial Section under Mr. F. W. Collins, who is here, make up the Department of Industrial Development reporting to the Freight Traffic Manager of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The functions of the Development Section are varied but, in a general way, they might be described as those aimed at the bringing about of the Development of natural resources in territories served by the Company's lines. These territories far exceed in size what might be interpreted from a map of the Company's rail lines, for through connections with other railways, with high-

ways, water services and airlines, most of the settled parts of Canada and many of the unsettled parts are of immediate concern to us. The Development Section does not deal primarily with immigration nor land settlement, but some of its functions bring its officers into close touch with problems that interlock on the whole with those of immigration.

During the years, our organization has collected information on all forms of natural resources in the Dominion, and this applies particularly to mineral resources for the simple reason that we have found that our most active inquiries deal with minerals. Our technical staff consists or has consisted of mining engineers, geologists, civil engineers, chemists, agriculturists, and the like. Offices are maintained at Montreal and Winnipeg with partial representation at other points, and close contact is kept with technical services such as those provided by the government.

When we become aware of an undeveloped source of raw material that we believe to have economic possibilities, we bring it to the attention of manufacturers who might be interested in using it or to the attention of prospective producers who might be interested in producing it. Conversely, a great deal of our work is devoted towards finding sources of materials for manufacturers who, for one reason or another, are not satisfied with their present sources of supply.

On many occasions we have worked, particularly in behalf of Canadian and United States capital, in locating Canadian sources of supply of one or more raw materials for a projected manufacturing industry. To a lesser but still significant extent, we have been associated with British or European capital, refugee or otherwise, in seeking for a means of investment for that particular capital and for the particular type of individual possessing it, in productive enterprise based on Canadian natural resources.

The consensus is that Canada needs increased population and that particularly now it needs agricultural population. There also have been and are opportunities for industrial workers, especially for those with special skills and for those with the necessary funds to invest in industries based on the country's natural resources. The benefits to Canada can be immense, for in the application of such funds and particularly of technical skills normally not available here the result will be development of natural resources and employment of Canadian labour in industries not necessarily competitive with already existing domestic industries. Let me here hasten to add that in many of the phases of industry based on natural resources Canadians have little to learn from Europe. In other phases, however, there is the distinct possibility of superior European knowledge. Continental mining and handling methods, for instance, are inferior to our own on the whole, but European methods of processing and of utilizing what here might be waste products are in some cases quite superior. It is realized in saying this that the larger European market, based of course on population, and before the war the urge of some European countries for self-sufficiency, are the reasons.

It might be interesting to give, without using identifying names of persons or places, a few examples of enterprises based in whole or in part on domestic natural resources, begun within the past seven or eight years by foreign capital, employing from a few to hundreds of Canadian employees and but a few imported specially trained men, and in some cases at least not competing seriously with established industry in its natural market. British examples are purposely omitted.

In eastern Canada some Czechoslovakians established flax fibre mills at two points; other Czechoslovakians at three points. Some Belgians established one at one point. Another Belgian group began the manufacture of machinery for handling flax fibre but later went out of business. Another group of Czechs went into the manufacture of special types of lamps, while still another has gone into the logging business and the manufacture of a special type of furniture. A group

from Belgium and France transferred the manufacture of heavy machinery to Canada. A family formerly engaged importantly in Czechoslovakia and Austria have established a large lumber business in western Canada using a type of wood hitherto considered well nigh non-commercial and employing in its mills and logging camps hundreds of men. This firm played an important part in our war effort. A Czech has established an artware pottery in eastern Canada and supplies ware made from domestic clays to firms he once supplied from Europe. A Hungarian has set up a business in the manufacture of special chemical products, and a German group a toy factory.

Hundreds of foreign nationals in the few years preceding the war and for a year or two into it enquired actively into such possibilities as the manufacture of artificial eyes, catgut, shoe lace tips, lignin from waste sulphite liquors, lactic acid from potatoes, various plastics, medicines and chemicals, special types of paper, glass, including artware and window glass, special sawdust products, textiles, clay products of all kinds, peat products, and a host of other materials, while others were interested in mineral production. These people included Germans, Czechs, Swedes, Austrians, Hungarians, Dutch, French, Rumanians and Poles, to name some of the nationalities. Many of these men might have gone ahead with their plans, but some were the victims of invasion, while others not so caught were held up in Canada by materials being diverted to essential uses. Some of these propositions will be revived.

One more point should be made. In western Canada there are many raw materials not now being utilized in industry because the natural market is not large enough. A greater population in the west will provide the means for development of such materials and help in providing a more equitable balance between industry and agriculture. This point might be extended to cover the possibility of industrial crops, thus to provide a better balance within the agricultural industry itself.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: That is very fine, but there are some things you have not mentioned about these skills. Recently I was talking with a man just returned from the Old Country. He was caught there during the war, and having been in the retail business here he naturally went to work in retail stores over there. He told me that we are going to lose our bacon market in England just as soon as Polish bacon and Danish bacon is available there. We have out in my country a Pole who before the war owned and operated seven packing plants in Poland. He lost them when his country was invaded, and he came to Canada. He managed to get some money and started up a packing plant in Western Canada. I asked the returned Canadian, "What is the complaint about our bacon, is it too fat?" He said, "No, it is soft and porous in the slicing machine." He told me of a butcher who had been handling bacon for more than thirty-five years, and this butcher went to his refrigerator and took out several pieces of bacon and said, "This is made by the man from Poland, and it is better than Swift's or Canada Packers have ever made." The farmers of Western Canada take great pains to raise good bacon hogs, but if a hog is a few pounds overweight the packers will take off two cents a pound from their price. Our hogs are barley-fed and we have improved them right along, but still our bacon is not meeting with favour in England. I am convinced that the fault lies with our packers. They do not seem to know how to handle the bacon. Our farmers are penalized and the market is lost. It is my opinion that it is not the farmers' or producers' fault, but the packers'. This one man from Poland with his knowledge and ability of bacon curing is running our own packing companies right off the map. There is an instance of how these special skills may work to the great advantage of this country.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Hutt, you were speaking of the utilization of Canada's natural resources by establishing industries?

Mr. HUTT: I think you could put it that way. With greater population, industry in general is given a better balance, that is, industries based on those natural resources have a better chance to produce properly.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Is it not all based on natural resources?

Mr. HUTT: Yes. I am speaking of the West particularly. There are so many natural resources out there that could be developed, and this development would be for the benefit of the people already there, but unfortunately there are not enough people there to make it worth while to some producers. As a broad example I might mention some very high grade clays in southern Saskatchewan which are capable of vastly expanded production, but the market available to those clays or the product from them on the prairies is not sufficiently large now to justify doing much more with them than is now being done.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Could we not compete in foreign markets with those clay products? We have the men and the machinery.

Mr. HUTT: Yes. Incidentally, certain forms of pottery are made at Medicine Hat, where they have the happy combination of natural gas and easily available clay, that before the war were reaching practically all the British Dominions. But with heavier clay products, such as sewer pipes and things of that kind, the shipping distance is definitely limited.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Is not that one of the factors which make for the use or non-use of natural resources—the price at which they can be handled?

Mr. HUTT: Yes; that is obvious, I suppose.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That is a point which we do not seem to consider very frequently. Take farming as an illustration. The population of the Ukraine and other European countries is very much upset. The price of farm lands in southern Europe must be very low. We may have some very fine natural resources here, but they are held at too high a price as compared with those in other countries. We want to get immigrants. It is not so much the relative value of the resource but the price at which somebody holds it. The Canadian Pacific has still got a large amount of land available, has it not?

Mr. HUTT: Do you mean as farm land?

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Yes.

Mr. HUTT: I really do not know. I have nothing to do with the disposition of the land which the company holds. Mr. Cresswell may know.

Mr. CRESSWELL: We have still available for settlement approximately a million and a half acres of land.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That is settable land?

Mr. CRESSWELL: I should not like to say that it is all good first-class land; it has been pretty well picked over; but there is a fair percentage of good land in that total for settlement. Then of course we own the minerals under a very much greater area than that. In our land contracts we retain the minerals.

Hon. Mr. MOLLOY: What is the average price of the land you still own?

Mr. CRESSWELL: On the average I do not think it would be \$5 an acre.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: In connection with the use of our natural resources in the hope of selling the products from them, the question of wages, hours of labour and so on in the countries to which we hope to export enter into the possibilities.

Mr. HUTT: Yes, sir, all those things must come into the question when you are speaking of competition; that is quite true.

The CHAIRMAN: We will now hear from Mr. Collins, Industrial Manager of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

Mr. FRANK W. COLLINS (Industrial Manager, Canadian Pacific Railway Company): Mr. Chairman and honourable senators, it is a great privilege for me to be associated with my confreres, Mr. Cresswell and Mr. Hutt, in the presentation of these briefs.

The modern industrialization of the Dominion of Canada is, in large measure, a concomitant of the building and successful operation of the Canadian Pacific Railway and of the immigration policy pursued by the Canadian Government prior to the First World War.

Yesterday, we celebrated the 79th anniversary of Confederation. The main problems confronting our first Canadian Government were those of transportation and lack of population. It may be recalled that in order to bind Canada into a united land it was essential that a transcontinental railway be built uniting the East with the West. Out of that necessity emerged the Canadian Pacific as Canada's pioneer transcontinental line. Its construction in 1885 and its opening to through traffic in 1886 made it possible for the plans and the concepts of the Fathers of Confederation to become realities. It opened Canada to settlement by the many immigrants who flowed in from Europe.

Today we are accustomed to standards of comfort and convenience, of service and utility without parallel in any country in the world other than the United States of America. Our standards are synonymous with those of our neighbour to the south. What was the situation in 1886 when the Canadian Pacific blazed the pathway for the great nation we know to-day? The population of the Dominion at that time was mainly located in the valley of the St. Lawrence River and along the northern shores of Lakes Erie and Ontario. There were no great metropolitan cities then such as exist today in Winnipeg and Vancouver. Montreal and Toronto were very small communities. North Bay, Sudbury, Port Arthur, Fort William, Brandon, Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary, Edmonton, did not exist as they do now. Industrial development and foreign trade which loom so large in present day affairs were largely unknown. The plain fact is that when the Canadian Pacific completed its transcontinental line it served a virgin wilderness. True the country was a land of expectations but expectations alone will not support or maintain a transcontinental railway. What did the management of the Canadian Pacific do to improve conditions and to justify its existence? Did they sit down to await developments or the swing of the pendulum? They did not. The management set resolutely to work to develop the latent possibilities of the great property placed in their charge and of the truly great country which it served. The accomplishments of the succeeding managements need not be recounted in detail. They are in evidence throughout the Dominion. Industrial development was encouraged, land settlement and colonization were undertaken, immigration was encouraged, natural resources were proven and developed and foreign trade was opened, first upon the Pacific and then upon the Atlantic. The tourist industry of which we hear so much today was inaugurated in a national way by the Canadian Pacific in 1885 when it commenced informing the world about Canada, its attractions and its possibilities. It is no exaggeration to say that the Canadian Pacific maintains proudly and firmly the name of Canada throughout the world and that its activities are responsible, in large measure, for the growth, the development, the standards of living and the broad prosperity which the Canadian people to-day enjoy.

I would assume that our industrial development is well known to the Honourable Senators and I shall not occupy your time in relating its growth in detail. In a few short decades we have seen the changing industrial picture of the St. Maurice River Valley, the Eastern Townships, the Island of Montreal and the Lake St. John District in the Province of Quebec. In the Maritimes, we have observed the changing tempo at Halifax, Sydney, Saint John, Moncton

and throughout the Annapolis and Saint John River Valley territories. In Ontario consider the Toronto, London, Windsor, Chatham, Hamilton, Kingston, Sudbury, Cornwall, Owen Sound and Ottawa of thirty years ago with to-day. Then west of the Great Lakes review the growth of Winnipeg, Brandon, Regina, Calgary, Edmonton, Vancouver, Nelson, Trail, Lethbridge and New Westminster, and we can visualize the part industrial development plays in our growth. Another point to remember is the increasing interest being displayed in industrial development work by our municipalities, banks, power companies, chambers of commerce, Provincial and Dominion Governments.

The Canadian Pacific Railway maintains industrial development offices in the principal cities across Canada and also in London, England. At these offices carefully trained staffs provide complete information on all phases of Canada's industrial progress. This information is very comprehensive and is made readily available to the interested public without charge or obligation. Likewise, the traffic offices of the company throughout Canada, the United States, Europe, New Zealand, Australia and the Orient are associated with the Industrial Development Department for the purpose of presenting Canada's development and industrial possibilities to those interested. The results of industrial development work have been so successful and so real that the activity is now participated in actively by various municipalities, banks, power and other companies.

It is a definite indication that our Canadian people realize that in industrial development there is growth and with sound growth, the advantages and stability necessary to maintain the standards of life our people demand as a requisite of Canadian citizenship.

Behind this short recital of Canada's growth and development—of our progress and expansion—is that one important factor—immigration—the collective and individual efforts of stout-hearted men, women and children who made Canada their home and who made this country what it is to-day.

To-day, sirs, you are members of the Senate of Canada, yet I am on perfectly safe ground when I say that every gentleman in this room is probably a descendent of an immigrant. To its great credit, Canada, as we know it, is the creation, the handiwork of immigrants. Our national development is only commencing; there are many horizons to reach; therefore may I suggest that realizing as we do that all the benefits which are ours to-day to enjoy were created for us by immigrants, why then should we delay in framing our laws to encourage and stimulate the movement here of courageous men and women who seek in this new western world a home and all that a home means, that Canada may achieve its proper destiny.

Our country needs population. There are only two methods to acquire it—the first is the natural method which is slow, the second is by immigration. Canada is huge. It will support a large population, probably two to three times its present population. It has a vast industrial empire and so vast is it that it is true to say that Canada must export to live. A home market can only be created by increased population and immigration is the only way of creating that increase. Canada's future depends upon a strong, virile and large population. If we are to retain our present important position in world affairs, we must not only build industrial empires but we must provide people to man the industries and people to consume the products of those industries. In my opinion, a very broad immigration policy for Canada is justifiable from every point of view.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: You say in your brief that Canada will support two or three times its present population.

Mr. COLLINS: That is true.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Leaving out the question of transportation, how fast do you think we could absorb a population of that size? How soon, for instance, could we double the population of Canada?

Mr. COLLINS: There have been many estimates made by various people, and it has been held that we could absorb easily 300,000 to 500,000 people a year.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: We have gone almost as high as 400,000 a year. I have seen the figures for around 1913, and there was one year of 400,000 and another 382,000.

Mr. COLLINS: No doubt the senators will remember the immigration years of 1911, 1912 and 1913 when at Montreal and at our ocean ports, particularly during the summer season, there were train loads of new settlers coming steadily through eastern Canada going for the most part to western Canada. We know the reflection of that movement on our general prosperity to-day.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Were they absorbed here at that time?

Mr. COLLINS: They were absorbed.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: 1913 was the highest peak that they absorbed the new population without trouble.

Mr. COLLINS: The war started in 1914, and I do not recall from any studies I have made of any particular trouble.

I was recently in Chatham, Ontario, and if honourable senators have visited Kent county recently they no doubt were amazed at the changes which are underway in that territory. I was told by a gentleman who is interested in the development there that a great deal of that growth has been due to the migration there of various people. First came the Mexican people, but they did not stay. Then came the Belgians, and the people from the southern states; to-day they have a sound basis for beet production. They also have the tobacco industry. Out of this development a great deal of wealth has accrued to that territory, extending not only to Kent county but to Simcoe as well. The industrial development has kept pace with that growth, and if you visit Chatham to-day you will see a new industrial district growing up which will provide employment for several hundred of Chatham citizens. Recently the International Harvester Company has decided to establish a two and a half million dollar plant there. Several other industries are choosing that location, and it has necessitated the city of Chatham acquiring a new industrial area which has been annexed to the city, and this construction program is now actively underway. That in turn will provide traffic for our Canadian railways and employment for the citizens of the city of Chatham; it means that Chatham is on the verge of large development. The same situation is taking place to a marked degree throughout Canada.

If you gentlemen are familiar with the city of Toronto, as Senator Murdock is, you will have noted the city's growth in the past few years. For instance, the territory around Islington, which was practically farming land five years ago, also down as far as New Toronto and back over to Swansea have expanded tremendously. The territory north of west Toronto out to Mount Dennis and Weston, and west to Lambton and the Leaside district have all undergone great changes. To-day large industrial development is taking place in those areas, which will afford employment to thousands of people.

In the city of Montreal in the last two years a new industrial area has developed in the Cote de Liesse Road and Decarie Boulevard. About 150 acres of land which, up to 1944, was largely a farming section and utilized for market gardening, is now undergoing a facial change, the results of which will be far reaching in our economy. For instance, the White Motors of Cleveland, Ohio, will have a plant costing over \$2,000,000. Next to the White Motors a plant is being erected by the Liquid Carbonic Company of Chicago. Around the corner the Abbott Laboratories of Chicago are erecting a plant. Canada Dry has already built; and on the farther side of Abbott Laboratories, Salada Tea have erected a plant. On the opposite side of this traffic circle which divides the area into four portions, the former Mount Royal Race Track property is being

subdivided, and there is a large development also underway. Farther south along Decarie Boulevard a large plant is being erected, adjacent to the Canadian Pacific track, by the Armstrong Cork and Insulation Company. A little west of that Canadian Industries Limited are erecting a large building, and further to the east six other plants are being built.

Now, Mr. Chairman, all this reflects the great development which is underway throughout Canada. I doubt if our people realize much of the industrial growth which is making progress not only in Montreal and Toronto, but practically everywhere throughout Canada. For instance, Calgary presently has quite a large industrial development; in Vancouver the same situation applies. We can take city after city and find that the people are sharing in the new development. We must realize that they are determined to secure their share of Canada's industrial growth. The result has been that practically all our large municipalities are directly interested in the industrial expansion, and our provinces have established their industrial departments, as has the Dominion government. Through the years, the railway companies, the power companies and the banks have been much interested in future growth. Our company since 1885 has been carrying industrial work, because, as I mentioned in my earlier remarks, we served a virgin country.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I take it that you are of the opinion that the bringing in of immigrants would not take up available jobs but would create new ones.

Mr. COLLINS: I subscribe to that statement.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Go ahead, please. I did not mean to stop you.

Mr. COLLINS: When the Canadian Pacific completed its line through to the Pacific Coast the terminus was not Vancouver, for Vancouver did not exist in those days; the terminus was Port Moody. The line to Port Moody ran through a virgin forest, with sufficient clearance to permit the track to be laid to the Pacific Coast. There was no traffic in sight, and it will be of interest to ascertain how the company secured its first traffic. Mr. Van Horne, who was then the General Manager in charge of the company at Montreal, some months previously had chartered a sailing brig, called the *W. B. Flint*, and he sent a soliciting freight agent with this brig to the Far East, to China and Japan. The instructions to this official of the company were to proceed to the Far East and tell the business people in the communities which he visited that a new railroad was being built across Canada, a railroad which would afford a link with the great cities of the United States and Eastern Canada, and also new connection between the whole of Canada and the British Isles and the continent of Europe. This official was to secure as much business as he could for the new railroad. Now it happened that not long ago I met the gentleman who was the secretary in the offices of the company back in 1886. He told me that Mr. Van Horne would come in every morning and ask the operator at the company's then station in Montreal, called the Dalhousie Square Station, if any word had come in from Port Moody, and for a long time the answer was "No." The line opened on the 4th of July at Port Moody, and on the 26th of July the operator there called Montreal to say that a sailing vessel was approaching up Burrard Inlet. That information galvanized Mr. Van Horne into action and he asked the operator to inquire if the sailing vessel was low down in the water. The reply came that it was, and in about thirty minutes the boat docked, with a cargo of 800 tons of tea for rail movement east over the newly opened line to New York city. That was the first traffic, and right away Mr. Van Horne said: "There is a great future for Canada and the Canadian Pacific Railway in the import and export trade. We will open up immediately in the Far East and we will give orders for five iron ships." That was the commencement of the Canadian Pacific Railway's foreign trade. It first started upon the Pacific and finally it went to the Atlantic.

It may be of interest, Mr. Chairman, to relate questions which business people who come from all over the world ask about Canada. We deal with industrialists who are considering Canada as a centre of their operations. Some of these people represent large amounts of capital, others represent small amounts, but basically they are all concerned with the same questions. I have taken a number of these questions and the details which we supply in answer to them and have placed them in a little brochure, which I thought I might leave with the committee, so that if you wish you may study it at your convience. If there are any questions arising out of it later I will be pleased to give more details.

In Mr. Hutt's presentation this morning we heard about people who came to Canada prior to the second world war. These people were largely refugees from Hitler, and a number of them brought a great deal of money to this country. Their coming has been referred to by economists as probably another development in our economic history. The results of it are not yet fully apparent, but in addition to bringing a large amount of capital into the country it has brought here a considerable number of skilled people, and they have been teaching Canadians new arts and crafts. I would suggest that the first time any of you gentlemen visit St. Jerome, north of Montreal, you go to visit the pottery plant erected by Viktor Kominik. He has made a real contribution to our Canadian industrial development. His proposition is only a small one, but it has made progress.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Was his business something new in Canada?

Mr. COLLINS: Yes, a new development in Canada.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: It was the C.P.R. that brought the Batas out, was it not?

Mr. COLLINS: No; they came out on their own, Senator. The Bata family, as you know, come from Czechoslovakia. They came here in 1939, when there was a large migration of Europeans to Canada, all dictated by the political upheavals in Europe, though some of them—the Batas, for instance, were planning a Canadian development for many years.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: They continued their manufacture in Czechoslovakia?

Mr. COLLINS: Yes, they have a large development at Zlin, in Czechoslovakia. They are reputed to be the largest shoemakers in Europe.

Perhaps it may be of interest to recount that we have many great advantages in Canada which attract industrially minded people from all over the world. To begin with, we have a splendid geographical location for world trade. Then we have excellent transportation facilities. The problem of transportation that confronted the statesmen of 1867 has been largely solved.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Perhaps over-solved.

Mr. COLLINS: Maybe. But if this country reaches its full destiny, we will still need those facilities.

Mr. ROEBUCK: The problem will not be over-solved then.

Mr. COLLINS: No. We have great resources of hydro-electric power, and in the competitive world situation of to-day that is a tremendous advantage, one which cannot be sufficiently emphasized. Look at the Aluminum Company's great development at Lake St. John, for example. All their raw materials are brought into Canada, and that huge industry would not be in this country at all but for the hydro-electric power available here. The story down there can be repeated in many places. Our people are cognizant of the situation. They understand that this century belongs to Canada. Sometimes we fail to realize the tremendous industrial development of this country. We have built a great industrial empire in Canada. Though we possess only about one-twelfth of the population of the United States, our standards are the same.

That is a great tribute to the Canadian people. What we lack is population, and in my judgment there is only one way that we can secure it, namely, by a sound immigration policy.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: We have great power resources and coal in the west, but our centralized banks have prevented the west from having the industrial development that it should have had.

Mr. COLLINS: Well, Senator, western Canada is developing industrially to quite a marked degree. You yourself will know of the changes that have taken place in the west. For a long time steam was the great source of industrial power, and then came electricity which, with its long power lines, distributes the same advantages throughout the country. But the greatest contribution to the development of our country from an industrial standpoint has been made by transportation.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I think you have given us a very interesting statement.

Mr. COLLINS: Thank you, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN: We have had a series of interesting statements this morning.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: Would you care to make comment as to the influence of taxation on industrial development?

Mr. COLLINS: Well, that has an influence. The far-seeing municipalities, which are looking ahead, have in mind the thought that taxation is a factor. Are you speaking from a particular standpoint, Senator, as regards competition from other countries, or are you speaking of competition within the country?

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: I am speaking of Canada's ability to compete in world trade, in the output of her natural products, and I have in mind all forms of taxation.

Mr. COLLINS: Naturally taxation enters into the cost of producing goods, but our people have been able to produce large varieties of goods which they have been able to sell in practically every country in the world, in competition with the major industrial countries. So I would take it that our taxation situation here is such that it has not prevented us from competing effectively with other nations.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Yes, but in the past we did not have the excess profits taxes and the corporation taxes and various other classes of taxes.

Mr. COLLINS: There is no doubt that is a matter which will necessitate careful attention if we are to maintain our competitive position in world affairs. The excess profits tax is one that will have to be considered. It may be of interest to refer to one of the unusual effects of this tax, namely, its effect on land-owning companies. For instance, near one of our larger Canadian cities there is a magnificent industrial site that is at present being held off the market. Why? The directors of the company have reviewed the situation and decided they will not sell their land at the present time because to do so would result in the turning over of a large portion of the income from the property to the Dominion Government.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Does that not raise a question as to the principle of land taxation? Here we have a system which amounts to levying taxes upon land when it is used. If taxes were levied irrespective of whether the land was used or not, we would get a different result, would we not?

Mr. COLLINS: Well, Senator, that is one way of viewing the situation.

Hon. Mr. CRERAR: You have long been a Henry George man, Senator.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Yes, and I still am. The Henry George taxation system would cause our resources to be put to use.

Mr. COLLINS: In this particular instance the property is being held until such time as the excess profits taxes are removed. In the meantime a large industrial area which could be developed to the benefit of the municipality of the people who now live there as well as those who would come to live there, remains undeveloped. In Great Britain the excess profits tax was removed at the end of last year. In my opinion it would have been helpful to remove the tax here at the same date. Personally I was hopeful that that would be done, so that various properties which are now being kept off the market would be made available for industrial purposes.

As regards your question, senator, of internal taxation, that is something of which our municipalities are aware. They know their internal taxes are competitive with those of other municipalities, and that this is a factor which industrialists not only carefully scrutinize but which may be a reason for an industrial location going elsewhere.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Cresswell, you mentioned the considerable acreage of Canadian Pacific land which the company still owns. I have a letter here from the Press Relations Officer of the Canadian Pacific Railway in which he says that as of the end of 1945 the total unsold acreage of Canadian Pacific lands was 1,407,756 acres. That was your figure too, was it not?

Mr. CRESSWELL: The figure I have is 1,307,876 acres.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Perhaps yours is a little later than mine.

The CHAIRMAN: We are much obliged to you, Mr. Collins.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I have a letter from the Hudson's Bay Company over the signature of Mr. G. N. McBride for the manager of the company's land department. He writes:

At the close of our last fiscal year, 31st January 1946, our unsold land estate had been reduced to approximately 822,000 acres.

Those two sets of figures give us a considerable total acreage.

I have another letter which I desire to put on record. By the way, it is addressed to the chairman. It comes from Mr. R. McC. Walker of 26 Rowanwood Avenue, Toronto. Under date of May 28, 1946, he writes, in part, as follows:—

Statistics show that without immigration, this country will have a declining population, births alone being insufficient to counterbalance the loss occasioned by death and emigration. The average age of Canadians is increasing, a trend fraught with unhealthy consequences, for a young country, such as Canada, should have a continually expanding economy.

I suggest that what is needed in Canada is more children, preferably born from and brought up by Canadians, to be supplemented as necessary by children brought in from outside to be brought up by Canadians, as Canadians.

It is therefore respectfully submitted that consideration should be given to a scheme for the introduction into Canada under Government auspices at the earliest possible moment of a large number of children from Europe. Preference should be given to those orphaned by the war, or whom the war has rendered homeless and destitute. These children suffer for the sins of their fathers and Europe holds out little hope for them in the future.

Children under ten years of age have not yet been infected by the philosophies of those in enemy countries, as are older prospective immigrants. The benefit to Canada in years to come from a new generation of young people brought up in this country would far outweigh the

difficulty and expense. The practical problem of bringing to Canada, housing and educating a very large number of British and foreign children would of course be handled by appropriate Government agencies.

It is not my intention in this short memorandum to outline the difficulties to be overcome, as Government experts have better knowledge and are better equipped than I. I simply lay before the Senate Committee an idea which may appeal on both practical and humanitarian grounds. The suggestion has a number of virtues. It would not hamper demobilization and rehabilitation. It would provide Canada with a population brought up in Canada, and having Canadian ideals, and it would assist greatly the under-nourished countries of Europe.

The CHAIRMAN: We will take that under advisement when making our report, I presume.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Yes, Mr. Chairman.

The committee adjourned until to-morrow at 10.30 a.m.

1946

THE SENATE OF CANADA



PROCEEDINGS OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON

Immigration and Labour

On the operation and administration of the
Immigration Act, etc.

No. 6

WEDNESDAY, 3rd JULY 1946

The Honourable James Murdock, P.C., Chairman

WITNESSES:

Mr. Saul Hayes, Montreal, P.Q., National Executive Director, Canadian Jewish Congress.

Mr. L. Rosenberg, Montreal P.Q., Research Director, Canadian Jewish Congress.

STANDING COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND LABOUR

The Honourable JAMES MURDOCK, P.C., Chairman

The Honourable Senators

Aseltine	Donnelly	McGeer
Blais	Dupuis	Molloy
Bouchard	Euler	Murdock
Bourque	Ferland	Pirie
Buchanan	Haig	Robertson
Burchill	Hardy	Robinson
Calder	Horner	Roebuck
Campbell	Hushion	Taylor
Crerar	Lesage	Vaillancourt
Daigle	Macdonald (<i>Cardigan</i>)	Veniot
David	McDonald (<i>Shediac</i>)	Wilson

ORDER OF REFERENCE

EXTRACT from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Senate, Wednesday, May 8, 1946.

"That the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour be authorized and directed to examine into the Immigration Act (R.S.C. Chapter 93 and Amendments) its operation and administration and the circumstances and conditions relating thereto including (a) the desirability of admitting immigrants to Canada, (b) the type of immigrant which should be preferred, including origin, training and other characteristics, (c) the availability of such immigrants for admission, (d) the facilities, resources and capacity of Canada to absorb, employ and maintain such immigrants, and (e) the appropriate terms and conditions of such admission;

And that the said Committee report its findings to this house;

And that the said Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records."

L. C. MOYER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

WEDNESDAY, 3rd July, 1946.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour met this day at 10.30 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators Murdock, Chairman; Blais, Buchanan, Horner, Macdonald (*Cardigan*), McDonald (*Shediac*), Molloy, Robertson, Robinson, Roebuck, Taylor, Vaillancourt, Wilson—13.

The official reporters of the Senate were in attendance.

The Committee resumed consideration of the order of reference of 8th May, 1946, directing the Committee to examine into the operation and administration of the Immigration Act, etc.

Mr. Saul Hayes, Montreal, P.Q., National Executive Director, Canadian Jewish Congress, was heard, and read a brief by the Canadian Jewish Congress on immigration to Canada of Jewish people from Europe.

The following Exhibits to the brief were filed:—

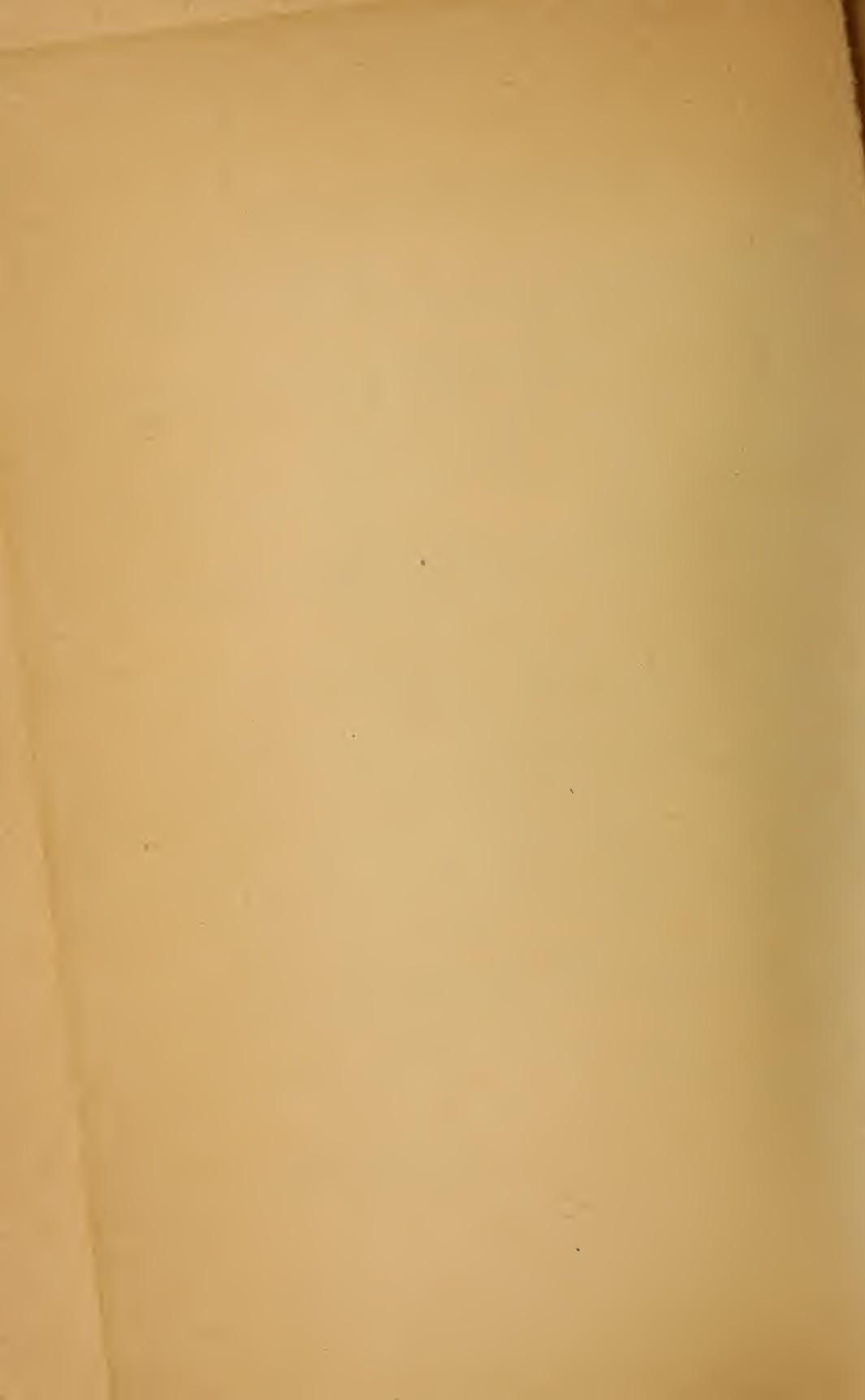
- No. 1. Extracts from evidence given before the Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization of the House of Commons, Canada, March 8, 1928 to May 30, 1928. (not printed).
- No. 2 Newspaper clippings from French and English newspapers on the subject of immigration (not printed).
- No. 3. Pamphlet "The Free Press of Canada Speaks" containing editorials from Canadian newspapers (not printed).
- No. 4. Resolution passed by National Council of Women of Canada, June 6, 1946, *re* orphaned children of Great Britain and Europe (not printed).
- No. 5. Resolution of Canadian Congress of Labour on Sanctuary for Refugees (not printed).
- No. 6. Resolution of United Nations Society in Canada on Immigration and Refugees (not printed).

Mr. L. Rosenberg, Montreal, Quebec, Research Director, Canadian Jewish Congress, was heard with respect to the immigration regulations applying to the entry into Canada of Jewish immigrants.

At 11.50 a.m. the Committee adjourned until Wednesday, 24th July inst., at 10.30 a.m.

Attest.

H. ARMSTRONG,
Clerk of the Committee.



MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

THE SENATE,

OTTAWA, Wednesday, July 3, 1946

The Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour, which was authorized and directed to examine into the Immigration Act, met this day at 10.30 a.m.

Hon. Mr. Murdock in the Chair.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Chairman, we have with us this morning a number of representatives of the Canadian Jewish Congress. It is an organization of organizations, and is the outstanding one of its nature in Canada, representing the Jewish thought all over the country. The spokesman for the Congress will be Mr. Saul Hayes of Montreal, who is the national executive director of the Canadian Jewish Congress. I will now call on Mr. Hayes.

Mr. SAUL HAYES: Mr. Chairman and members of the Senate Committee, I need not tell you that we are extremely gratified for the invitation to be present today. I am not going to pretend that the Canadian Jewish Congress represents every phase of political thinking on the part of the Jewish community in Canada, but I do think it is safe to say that on certain matters, such as this question of immigration, we can indicate, as I will refer to in the formal brief, that we represent the Jewish community almost in its entirety.

I will now proceed with my brief:

I am gratified with the opportunity to appear before this committee. In the annals of the Jews of Canada this is an historic occasion, for it is the first time that a representative of the community has appeared before a parliamentary committee to state its views on immigration into this country. For this reason I might be permitted to say a word about the Canadian Jewish Congress, which has delegated me here. The Congress is the organization representing all sections of the Jewish community of Canada. This organization has been charged by the Jewish community with the particular responsibility of presenting its views to the authorities on questions of common interest and to bring every possible assistance to Jews in other lands who have been victims of discrimination and of Hitlerism. Our organization represents every single interest in the community and the institutions especially interested in immigration such as the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society of Canada and similar groups. Although our work since 1934 has been largely in this field, the organization was formed long before the days of the Hitler regime. It started in Canada around 1919.

On questions of national policies and partisan problems the Jewish community of Canada, of course, divides up every way and no one is authorized to speak for all of them. Certainly I would not presume to do so. It is an interesting historical fact that the seven Canadian Jews who have sat in the House of Commons represented every section of Canada geographically from Montreal, west to Victoria and that they included members of just about every political party in Canadian history. However, there are some common interests that unite Jews of Canada and it is the presenting of views on those questions that I have made bold to appear before this committee.

Like all other Canadians except the Indians, the Jews of Canada trace their origins back overseas and they retain interest in certain cultural and religious values which they share with fellow Jews who have remained overseas. They do this in substantially the same way that Canadians of English, French, and other origins do, and, as in the case of other Canadians this has not in any sense interfered with their proven basic interest and loyalty to Canada.

The members of this committee are certainly aware that the interests and the cultures of the people of Canada enter very deeply and properly into the formulation of Canadian policy on all questions and particularly on immigration.

The Jews of Canada are among the most enthusiastic and appreciative upholders of the liberties and opportunities of this country. We treasure each of its traditions and would give much to have the same principles of equality and decency rule in other countries as they do in Canada. Most of us stem from lands of continuous oppression, and many members of our community would certainly not be alive today if it were not that they or their ancestors had found a new home in Canada. I believe also that it is common knowledge that the presence of Jewish people in Canada has contributed materially to the development of this country in every field. It is therefore very natural for us to wish that some of our fellow-Jews who are suffering so much in other lands be given the opportunity to enter this country. That is why the Jewish citizens of this country take so keen an interest in the Immigration Act and its operations. It is the instrument which determines the extent to which this fervent wish of the united Jewish community will be met in practice.

When we read the Immigration Act from this point of view we find that on the surface of things the Act treats Jewish applicants for immigration in precisely the same manner as others and there is not anything in the Act itself which might be characterized as discriminatory against Jews; and since our community seeks no special privileges for ourselves or for our kin, that might be considered a satisfactory state of affairs.

However, when we come to examine the law and the procedures which have been existing for the past several decades in regard to immigration—in other words, the actual records—when we look to see how these procedures have worked out in actual practice during this period of time in regard to the immigration of our co-religionists, we do not find much cause for satisfaction. In the past twenty years—and I must say here parenthetically that these have been years when the Jewish people in other lands were more in need of a refuge than at any time in the past two thousand years—the statistics issued by the Immigration Branch indicate that the actual number of Jewish immigrants has been very small. I am forced by the facts to state to this committee that this is a cause for much pain and embarrassment to the Jewish community in Canada, which has seen its own flesh and blood persecuted, shamed and decimated for lack of a more sympathetic immigration policy in this country. The simple facts of Jewish immigration into Canada are that from the years 1931-1937 only 4,487 Jews entered the country or 4.75 per cent of the total immigration, and from 1937-1943, 4,381 Jews entered the country or 5.76 per cent of the total. In addition there was a number—fewer than 3,000—who were admitted for temporary asylum and who therefore do not appear in the statistics.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That was during the war, Mr. Hayes, was it not?

Mr. HAYES: Yes.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Were they not given permanent entry after their arrival?

Mr. HAYES: The figures that I quoted would not include those people, because they were given permanent entry in 1945 or 1946. Although they were physically here for temporary asylum, they would not be included in these official figures.

There is another fact emerging from the statistics issued by the department which I would place before you: the immigration of Jews into Canada has not been motivated only by the economic opportunities which our vast and beautiful country has always offered. Jewish applicants for admission have sought the liberties which are our Canadian heritage even more assiduously than non-

Jewish settlers; thus the graph of Jewish immigration during the late nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century showed that during the periods of increasing oppression and persecution overseas the proportion of Jews coming in had been higher than during intervening years. However, after 1926 this law ceased to operate just at the very time when persecution in Europe was at its most severe! In spite of the peaks and the hollows of Canadian immigration graphs in recent years, in spite of the growing severity of the persecution of Jews in Europe, the percentage of Jews among the immigrants has been consistently low. The least that this indicates is that our dominion has not done its humane duty to the persecuted Jewish people during their worst time even within the limits of the written immigration law of our country.

When we come to examine the causes of this situation in law, we find ourselves stumped to a considerable degree. The Immigration Act as it stands on the statute books is, in effect, a non-Immigration Act. It lists a very few and restricted categories of immigrants and delegates considerable authority in admissions to the department. This policy is not a public document, but we have good reason to believe that in so far as its application to Jews is concerned their submissions have been considered in a class by themselves. Whereas other applicants for admission are classified by citizenship, Jewish citizens of these countries have not been considered together with all their other fellow-citizens who have applied for admission, but as a group apart, and this Jewish group has received very low priority in the unusual scale that was thus arbitrarily and secretly set up. Charges that this procedure has been set up have been made on various occasions and have never been forthrightly denied. The contrary will never be proved until the policies governing admission by the department to whom so much authority is given by the Act are made public and subject to general examination. I would not appear before this committee simply to mention charges that have been made if we had not seen documents that tend to substantiate this. A Special Committee on Immigration of the House of Commons which was set up in 1928 to study the workings of immigration into Canada has elicited this information and I am placing before this committee a transcript of that part of the record. Furthermore, a member of our staff has seen mimeographed instructions in which it is stated distinctly that in accordance with the terms of the railway agreements made with the government the arrangements for the admission and the sale of tickets to immigrants from central and eastern Europe are not to apply to Jewish immigrants from those countries; Jewish immigrants or their Canadian relatives who wish to purchase tickets should be instructed to apply to the Canadian Department of Immigration for a special permit in each case. This is a chapter in the history of Canadian administration which must be cleared up in the interest of the good name of this country, lest we find ourselves continuing to practise racial discrimination.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: What do you mean by tickets—railway tickets?

Mr. HAYES: Steamship tickets. In other words, as I understand the situation from indices that have been given to me, in the twenties and prior thereto when people came in under the terms of the railway agreement, the railways and their officials had the right to give people passage under the general law, but there appeared to be some orders that Jewish persons could not be given tickets unless they first applied to the Immigration Branch and got special permission. To put it a little more graphically: if a non-Jewish Pole, a farmer or agriculturist, desired to come to Canada and had the minimum amount of money required, he could come here merely because (a) he was an agriculturist and (b) he had sufficient cash; but if he happened to be Jewish his application would not come under the regular administrative practice of the railway com-

panies but would have to be referred to the Immigration Branch for special attention.

Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON: Do you suggest that that is so at the present moment?

Mr. HAYES: I am not familiar with the procedure, but I could ask our expert on this matter, Mr. Rosenberg, who is here.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Rosenberg can be asked to come up here and make a statement, can he not, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN: Yes.

Mr. Louis Rosenberg, Montreal, then appeared as a witness.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Are you a director of the Canadian Jewish Congress?

Mr. ROSENBERG: I am the Research Director of the Canadian Jewish Congress.

Mr. HAYES: Mr. Rosenberg is a Fellow of the Royal Economic Society and an eminent statistician, who has had considerable experience, having been formerly with the J.C.A.—the Jewish Colonization Association—and since the war Research Director of the Canadian Jewish Congress.

Mr. ROSENBERG: May I say that the situation that I am about to describe existed up to 1931 when, because of the depression, an order in council was passed which cut off the actual working of the railways agreement. That has remained cut off until the passing of the new order in council which sets back things exactly as they were before 1931. In other words, since the government has not withdrawn its previous procedure and since the situation now goes back to exactly what it was in 1931, one may assume that we are faced now with the same situation as we were up to 1931. From 1922 to 1931, according to evidence given before the special committee of the House of Commons by the Deputy Minister at that time, Jews, no matter in what country they were living unless it was Great Britain or the United States, did not come under the general regulations applying to other citizens of the same countries, but were treated specially. They could not come in under the same terms as citizens of the countries in which they were born or of which they were citizens, but had to apply for a special letter of admission in each individual case.

The CHAIRMAN: To have their transportation paid for later if they were admitted?

Mr. ROSENBERG: No. Any person in Central Europe who was not a Jew could merely apply to the nearest steamship ticket office and buy a ticket, but when a Jew applied to purchase a ticket—whether he applied himself in Europe or a relative in Canada wished to buy a prepaid ticket for him, as was usually done—then before a ticket could be sold to him by the railway company he had to produce a letter of admission from the Department of Immigration. Since we have gone back to the situation exactly as it was prior to 1931, and since the previous procedure as admitted in the evidence has not been changed, I think it is fair to assume that the same procedure is in force now.

Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON: Do you mean that prior to 1931 any person who desired to emigrate to Canada needed only to apply to the railway or steamship company, and that the Immigration Branch had no say in the matter?

Mr. ROSENBERG: Citizens of Central European countries who were farmers and could satisfy the agents of their railway companies were admitted.

Hon. Mr. ROBERTSON: You mean the railway agents would determine who came to Canada and who did not?

Mr. ROSENBERG: Yes, under the railway agreement. That was true of people other than Jews. If a person was of Jewish origin he had to get a special permit.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Were the railway companies not restricted to accepting agriculturists and certain other classes of people?

Mr. ROSENBERG: Yes. If a non-Jewish person satisfied the railway company's agent that he was an agriculturist he would be accepted, but even if a Jew satisfied the agent that he was an agriculturist he could not be accepted.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I see in the statistics there is a report on the racial origins of immigrants. There is an alphabetical list of countries of origin, beginning with Albania, and I see that the list includes "Hebrew" as a racial origin or a nationality. Apparently Hebrews were in a class by themselves, and whatever their country of origin might be they were classified as Hebrews.

The CHAIRMAN: What are the figures?

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: These are the figures: 1930-31, 3,421; 1931-32, 649; 1932-33, 772; 1933-34, 943; 1934-35, 624. The more recent figures will be the interesting ones and I will give them. Here they are: 1935-36, 880; 1936-37, 619; 1937-38, 584; 1938-39, 890; 1939-40, 1,634; 1940-41, 626; 1941-42, 388; 1942-43, 270; 1943-44, 238; 1944-45, 330. Apparently those figures cover immigrants from all places, including the United States.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Those figures would not include immigrants given temporary permits.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: No.

The CHAIRMAN: How many of those entered during the war years?

Mr. HAYES: Three thousand.

The CHAIRMAN: And they have now been given permanent residence?

Mr. HAYES: Yes, sir.

Hon. Mr. TAYLOR: This situation does not relate to the general immigration policy but only to the railway companies' immigration agreement?

Mr. ROSENBERG: It is more than that. I presume most of you are aware that there was an administrative regulation whereby all immigrants to this country were divided into four broad categories. First, of course, British; second, preferred countries; third, nonpreferred countries; fourth, those not specifically named but listing all persons from southern Europe, such as Greeks, Italians, Turks, Syrians and Jews. But the difference was this. Whereas Italians covered persons from Italy, Greeks from Greece, and so on, so far as Jews were concerned, regardless of their citizenship or origin, they were treated as Jews. Here is the point. The railway agreement was a special arrangement between the government and the railway companies which applied to Central Europeans, and the railway companies were allowed to recruit such immigrants as long as they were coming to farm employment. But that was limited solely to non-Jews from the countries of Central Europe; Jews were not allowed to enter. Since no Jewish immigrants could come into Canada under any circumstances except by special letter of admission from the government, unless they were first-degree relatives, such as fathers and mothers and minor children, it meant that the admission of Jews was limited to a very small group.

Hon. Mr. MOLLOY: What percentage of the Jewish population become agriculturists?

Mr. ROSENBERG: A comparatively small number. Some two per cent of the Jews of Canada are farmers at the present time.

Hon. Mr. MOLLOY: Two per cent?

Mr. ROSENBERG: Two per cent. But while other groups are largely rural and before they arrive here will have had some farming experience, later on many of them leave the farm; on the other hand, Jews arriving in this country turn to farming in greater numbers. You see the same thing among Englishmen. There are quite a few prominent farmers, like Seager Wheeler and others, and

even Mr. Charles Dunning, who were not farmers in the Old Country but they went on the land over here and made a success of farming. One must not forget, of course, that in the past in large areas of Central Europe Jews were prohibited from owning or working on the land.

I may be allowed to add one paragraph from the annual report of the Department of Immigration for 1941. It will be found on page 194 and is as follows:—

Canada, in accordance with the generally accepted practice, places greater emphasis upon race than upon citizenship.

This shows that the trend has been, not to regulate immigration so far as ability or personal character, or even so far as citizenship or country of birth is concerned, but upon racial principles.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Are the Jews classified in the immigration records by race?

Mr. ROSENBERG: Yes.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Rather than by religion?

Mr. ROSENBERG: There is no classification by religion in the immigration records. The Jews are the only group singled out. Instead of being classified according to their country of citizenship or origin they are classified separately.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Mr. Rosenberg.

Mr. HAYES: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Rosenberg has indicated why we have laid such stress on this fact—and I make it quite clear because nowhere will you find it in the act—that the practice and the regulations do indicate a system of preferred countries, non-preferred countries, and then another non-preferred category which requires special permits. The article which Mr. Blair prepared in 1941, and from which the witness, Mr. Rosenberg, read, is one of the elements of proof of that situation to which we advert.

To continue with the formal brief:—

Needless to say, this situation is causing great concern to the Jewish community, since this is an approach to human beings quite contrary to Canadian or British philosophy and is reminiscent of race theories which have a very tragic connotation.

There is one other thought which I would wish to leave with this Committee. The immigration law as it stands today gives valuable preference to prospective settlers who have had farming experience and who state that they propose to engage in farming in Canada. Such statements in reality are valueless because no follow-up action is taken by the government. It should be unnecessary for me to say that I have nothing but the highest regard for the farmers of Canada, among whom are many esteemed members of the Jewish community. But I submit that the incorporation of this thinking into the law of Canada is seriously outmoded. There may have been a time in Canadian history when primarily agriculture was the backbone of the economy and its greatest need. During those days—and I emphasize that I leave room for doubt even at this point—there may possibly have been some justification for the formulation of such law. However, in recent years with the complete transformation of Canadian economy, with the great variety of our industrial and cultural life, with the intensification of all stages of the exploitation of the country's resources, and with Canada about to take an increasingly important place in the world's manufacturing and trade economy, an immigration policy which gives preference to farmers to the exclusion of those engaged in the processing, manufacturing, distributing and the cultural phases of our life is seriously outmoded and outdated and must hamper the balanced development of the country. I take time to say these rather elementary economic truths now

because it so happens that the picture of the Jewish communities from which we would like to see a reasonable immigration into Canada is quite different from the economic position of Canadian Jewry. Many of them could contribute greatly to Canada's economy through their training and experience in other equally useful phases of Canadian life. We have here, therefore, an example of immigration laws and procedures which are intrinsically out of date and not well-founded and which operate to the detriment of the wishes of the people of Canada in regard to the admission of Jews into this country.

I would like to advert to another immigration regulation which is outmoded and without much positive value. Many years ago there was enacted an Order in Council forbidding entry to immigrants who did not have direct passage from the land of their origin to the shores of Canada. The intent of this order, if I am correctly informed, was to keep British citizens from India from settling here. The Order did not fulfill its purpose and ultimately other arrangements had to be made towards the same end. Yet this order still remains in effect and could hamper many of our people, from entering because so many of them have been displaced persons who, by definition, cannot come to Canada directly from their original homes. If it is not set aside this Order can be an obstacle in the way of effecting humanitation plans for the relief of the problem of the displaced persons or the utilizing their great talents and abilities for the benefit and development of Canada.

If I left it at this I would not be quite fair to the Immigration Department with respect to the way in which it has handled the refugee movement to date. I am glad to say that it has not allowed this formal order in council to militate against the movement of certain refugees to Canada, as witness those from Spain and Portugal and other countries who were away out of "continuous journey", yet the immigration officials winked at this and allowed them to come in. But I should like to lay stress on this, that while the regulation is there it can always be invoked, and immigration officials, not those on the high levels, but those on the intermediate or lower levels, have used the continuous journey clause as an instrument to bar someone who otherwise would come in. From our particular point of special pleading, the position of the refugee—a large number of the people we are thinking of are displaced persons—is such that there can be no entry into this country if the order subsists regarding continuous journey. Very large numbers of refugees by the very fact that they are displaced persons cannot come from their country of origin, and that is why we think it important to point out the danger of this rule being invoked by immigration officials in the lower levels of authority.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: To my knowledge that rule on occasions is applied by the top stratum as well as the lower stratum of officials.

Mr. HAYES: From the point of view of my evidence I can only speak of the cases we know of, and those have to do with the lower levels.

The CHAIRMAN: But those regulations have been overlooked in the case of the 3,000?

Mr. HAYES: In the case of the 3,000 and of some non-Jews as well. There have been non-Jewish refugees, Polish, Czechs, Dutch, who have been allowed in without being barred by the continuous journey clause.

Another regulation governing immigration into Canada states that immigrants must pay their own passage and must in some cases have certain not inconsiderable sums of money to show at the port of entry. I believe that the intention at the time of issuing these orders was to prevent labour contractors from importing batches of workers and to make certain that all immigrants have sufficient funds to tide them over their period of readjustment. I submit however that these regulations, laudable as their intent may have been at the

time, are quite outdated. The world immigration picture to-day is such that there isn't any question of contract labour moving around in batches. On the other hand, it is universally known that many of the most desirable immigrants for any country to-day are people without funds for their own trans-Atlantic passage. There are private, governmental and inter-governmental agencies in Canada and outside the Dominion who are prepared to assist such immigrants to the shores of Canada and to guarantee to the authorities that they will never become public charges. I submit that in at least those cases the regulations governing passage and funds in hand be set aside.

I think I should stress the point that this whole picture of immigration possibilities at the present time must be considered in the light of the world cataclysm and the large number of people who because of the transformation of their lives and economies due to the war are not in any position now to pay their own passage. In fact the Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees, to which Canada contributes, and UNRRA, to which Canada also contributes, spend large sums of money just doing that very thing, that is, helping to pay the passage of such people. This is a striking example of how people who normally were in comfortable circumstances are now unable to defray their travelling and other expenses. When the Immigration Act was conceived this clause might have served a useful purpose, but it cannot be of much use to-day under these changed conditions.

As I have said before, I do not wish to enter into the broad phases of Canadian development policy, but I believe that I am stating what is generally agreed upon when I say that Canada will need to reopen its gates much more widely in the years to come to immigration from Europe in order to maintain our standard of living and our rate of growth. Even those who had been most fearful and intransigent on this point in the past have come around to his view. There is not a Canadian citizen who is not aware that certain important safeguards will have to be provided during the coming period of immigration and I wish to place myself squarely with them on this point. We like to use the term "selective immigration" when we think along those lines. But it would be helpful if we keep our thinking on this point clear. What basis of selection shall we follow? I hold no brief at this juncture for or against any particular set of categories such as occupations, country of origin, education, etc. But I strongly suggest that in the enunciation of this program there be no secrecy. Let there be no secret formulations secretly arrived at. No good can come from having the policy of our government on such an important point hidden from Canadian citizens and from those seeking admission. I am also aware that a basis of selection can be worked out which would appear quite innocent on the surface but which could in effect be quite mischievous.

Again I refer not necessarily to the Canadian Immigration Laws, but to immigration laws as such.

The history of immigration law is full of such instances and I need only mention the Dictation Test of Australia which has unworthily been used on occasion. The law should effectively protect the policy of the country and its present and prospective citizens from the caprices or the race or religious prejudice of any official.

I would also suggest that the right of Canadian citizens be broadened to include the right to have his kin in Europe join him here, particularly when he is in a position to sponsor him and to guarantee that the immigrant will not become a public charge or in cases when a reputable institution can be found to offer such guarantees.

While on the subject of the more general policies governing the admission of immigrants, I would like to present before you another opinion. We in Canada have always been in the position of being able to offer inestimable treasures of liberty and of opportunity to immigrants. There has almost always been a

knocking at our gates and we have always been free to choose and pick those whom we would admit. This is still true to a very great extent but I would regret if this situation made us blind to certain underlying truths in the world immigration picture. The simple facts are that it is not possible to-day for our country to pick and choose immigrants to the same extent as it was true in the past. The facts about birth and death rates in certain European countries, the labour markets, the exit and exchange regulations existing there and the reconstruction needs of some of those countries have altered the picture materially and have removed from the practical realm of consideration many groups of applicants whom possibly every section of the people of Canada would have been glad to admit. Furthermore some countries of development and reconstruction have been quick to take advantage of their opportunities and to give homes to some of the most desirable human material in the migration picture. Human beings, it is increasingly recognized, are a valuable commodity which is rather short in the market, if I may speak in such heartless terms, and if Canada is to carry out its policies of development it will need to be very realistic in its immigration policy. Obviously in such a situation the policy which is least blinded by prejudices and false standards is likely to benefit the most. From the history which we have read we know how much France has lost and England gained from the prejudice against the Huguenots in their own land. The German democrats of the 1840's who have settled so much of Nova Scotia and Ontario are another important example. On the other hand, we know that the practice of narrowness as was evidenced in Acadia nearly 200 years ago makes for the loss of valuable stock and creates bad blood which tends to disunite the people of a country for centuries. I daresay that among the most fateful conclusions to emerge from the development of atomic energy is what happens to a country which drives out its Lisa Meitners and its Formis.

With the world migration picture more or less like this, I would like to bring to the attention of this committee an emergency situation in Europe to-day in terms of human beings which anyone who considers the immigration policy of this country must take carefully into account. To deal specifically with the considerable Jewish aspect of that problem, I would like to summarize the situation as follows. During the past decade a vast slaughter of our people has taken place; I emphasize, of our people, because although all European nations have suffered during the years of war, occupation, and rehabilitation, none has had the percentage of losses that the Jewish people have suffered. Over six million Jewish civilians have died violently and unnecessarily as the result of the preachings of Hitler and of the latent spirit of anti-Semitism which permeates the continent of Europe. It is my duty to say that the number of these victims could have been very much smaller and very many of their lives could have been saved if such countries as Canada would have paid due heed to the requests and pleas of their kin and of Jewish citizens to grant a refuge to some of them while there was still time. It is a simple and truthful fact that because the applications made to the Immigration Branch on behalf of many of them were not favourably acted upon, their ashes and bones to-day lie in Buchenwald and soap had been made of their bodies instead of their being free and useful citizens in Canada life to-day.

To-day the survivors of European Jewry are very largely in the category of so-called displaced persons. They are homeless victims of Hitlerism who find it impossible to return to the homes where they were born because their birth places have been literally turned into the graveyard of their kin and of their parents. Their only hope is to find new homes in free lands. Many of them are in special camps in Germany, Austria and Italy, but it must be fully recognized that thousands of Jews in other countries are equally in need of new homes. It is estimated that the totality of the problem affects some 350,000 Jewish survivors in Europe. In describing them I would like to emphasize the

following characteristics that seem to be common to them all. They are hardy and steadfast and unexpectedly healthy. Their hatred of oppression and their devotion to democracy can well be imagined and they are prepared to leave behind them all attachments and loyalties and to give their all to the country which gives them a new opportunity.

To-day they constitute a difficult problem in the maze of European complexity. It has been stated by each of the statesmen of the United Nations who are coping with these problems that this problem must be resolved in practice only by each of the countries that have not been ravaged by war giving a home to some of these displaced persons. As a matter of fact the Prime Minister of this Dominion has on numerous occasions promised that when the time came Canada would certainly offer hospitality and opportunity to these displaced persons. I happen to be somewhat familiar with the problem and I state bodily here that if ever there was a time for Canada to act quickly and generously in this matter now is the time. I must state that to date the record of Canada in this case is not among the brightest and does not match the glory which the Dominion has won for itself during the years of war. Such countries as the United States and Great Britain have admitted such large numbers of Jews who were fleeing Hitlerism that the Canadian record pales by comparison. During the very days of Dunkirk when Great Britain was struggling for its very life and when its all too few motorboats were mobilized to save the servicemen of its Expeditionary Force in France, when all the resources of British shipping were proving insufficient to save all the arms or even all the men of that force, British officers still found room on their boats to rescue some of the refugees who were on the beach, nearly in the jaws of the Nazis. Even such smaller countries as the Vatican, Spain, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland have a record which is incomparably more impressive than Canada has.

The people of Canada are certainly just as humane as those of any other country. We know that through every instrument of expression they have evidenced their sense of horror at the cruelties inflicted upon the Jews of Europe and have voiced their sympathy for the victims. The press of Canada in all the languages which it speaks has been unanimous on this point. Influential organizations including national veterans and labour groups have spoken out forcefully for the relief of refugees. Each of the few refugees whom Canada did admit tells of nothing but kindness, generosity and hospitality on the part of Canadians in every province and every racial and religious denomination. The refugee farmers, whom our organization helped to settle in Ontario and elsewhere, have the most neighbourly relations with their communities. The small group of Polish and Czech refugees who were admitted at the request of their governments have contributed unusually to the life of this country. The government was generous in the praise that it extended to those and other refugees who were admitted under special and temporary conditions into the Dominion and whose immigration status was later regularized. When several hundred Jewish refugees from Spain, Portugal and Shanghai were admitted, the press of Canada was not only unanimous in welcoming them—and I speak all this time both of the French-language press and the English-language newspapers—but newspapers across the country criticized the government for admitting too few refugees. In the face of this warmth and unanimity I regret that I must state that the government has not hitherto given expression to the demands of Canadian citizenry and of the world-wide situation by opening the gates of Canada sufficiently widely for them.

In conclusion I would like to comment on what some members of this Committee may believe to have been a practical step towards the correction of this situation. I refer to the recent Order in Council of May 28, announced in the House of Commons by the Minister of Mines and Resources. That Order in Council was praised across the country for its positive features, the fact that it

did widen to some extent the categories of applicants who might be admitted. But I wish to state as clearly as I know how to this Committee that the Order in Council is far too hesitant to correct a difficult and long-standing situation. Admissions under this regulation are still confined to very close kin of Canadians. Many who wish to bring their relatives here find themselves still stymied and of course nothing has been done for the relief of those displaced persons who do not have relatives here. In practical terms the measure offers very little relief particularly since neither consular nor transportation facilities are provided for. I wish I could convey to the members of this Committee the tragedy which is reflected on my desk which is today flooded by pathetic letters from Canadian citizens who have had their hopes raised by the announcement and who wish to alleviate the misery of their kin by having them in Canada. I am afraid that they are doomed to disappointment and that they, their kin in the insecure camps of today, and even the people of Canada are bound to be the losers unless courageous steps are taken to alter considerably the regulations and the practice governing admissions into this cherished country of ours.

Emerging from the present brief as well as from other data before this Committee, the following submissions are made:—

(a) As immediate aid in the solution of the refugee problem the present regulations governing the admission of kin of residents in Canada should be extended to include first cousins, nephews and nieces past the age of 16, married sons and daughters, married brothers and sisters, and uncles and aunts.

The CHAIRMAN: Why do you say "past the age of sixteen"?

Mr. HAYES: The present order-in-council is all to restrictive. At the present time it allows nephews and nieces who are, firstly, under the age of sixteen, and, secondly, orphaned. This order-in-council helps but very few people. Again, the present order-in-council says that you can bring in single brothers and sisters. Many tragic cases have come to my attention of widowers and widows who are not helped by this order-in-council, or who are married and are not helped; also married sons and daughters who are not helped. Again, they are very close in the proximity of relationship, but are not close enough for this order-in-council.

(B) The immigration regulations and directives should be amended to remove such stipulations as those fixing amounts of cash required by immigrants, requiring continuous journey and those which forbid assisted passage.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: How much is that?

Mr. HAYES: I will come to that in a moment, sir. Again speaking outside of the brief I don't think the present temper of the Immigration Department is to use these sections to bar people; it is a discretionary matter. There is no law stating that "X" dollars must be shown by the arrival. It is discretionary, and can be fixed from time to time by the Minister, or his deputy. I don't think I would be fair to the department, nor accurate, by saying that the specific regulation requiring a continuous journey, and forbidding assisted passage is used militantly against eligible people under this order-in-council, but these provisions are in the statutes, and for the sake of comprehension we feel that they should be taken out.

(C) Race theories should be utterly removed from the Immigration Act and from regulations based upon it. The present Act actually provides for the prohibition or the limitation in numbers of immigrants by race (Section 38, Sub-Section C) and this clause has been the basis for the setting up of preferred and non-preferred categories to which strong

objection must be taken. Section 37 even goes further by providing that the amounts of money which immigrants may be required to possess for admission may vary according to race. In the year 1946 it is unnecessary to show before a committee of the august Senate of Canada how obnoxious and dangerous such legislation is.

- (D) We also submit that other categories of occupation besides farming which may be deemed especially useful for the development of this country be given equal preference.
- (E) Considering the adinission of residents of enemy and ex-enemy lands, I would urge that Canada follow the procedure which was adopted by UNRRA of considering Jewish nationals of such countries not as enemies or ex-enemies but as victims of religious and racial persecution and therefore not subject to any special incapacities to which the nationals of these countries may be subjected.
- (F) The present Immigration Act, which is very strict in matters of admission, should be altered to enable this country to absorb a much more generous number of immigrants in the interests of Canada's development and the Canadian people. This is the position which is being held more and widely across the dominion as may be gathered from any examination of the press and the resolutions passed by the most representative national bodies.
- (G) No effective action has been taken by the government of Canada to meet the problem of the refugees and displaced persons in Europe, some of whom must surely find a home in Canada. I strongly urge this Committee to give this problem most serious thought and I would regret if this Committee felt that the Order in Council which was recently promulgated contributes in any substantial measure towards the alleviation of this problem.
- (H) We request the proper authorities to permit and facilitate the entry of a thousand orphaned Jewish children and youths below the age of 21 who deserve the opportunity of beginning their lives in the wholesome atmosphere of free Canada.

Mr. Chairman, that is the close of our brief, but we have a number of exhibits which we should like to produce here, including the transcript of evidence taken before the select committee of the House of Commons in 1928. Judicial cognizance may be taken of it, but we have outlined the particular aspects of the evidence which may be useful. We should like to submit to you a batch of newspaper editorials, commenting on the need for immigration right across the country, which we think is a good example of public opinion. We have also a pamphlet which shows what the press of Canada was thinking some four years ago on this subject. Further, we have a number of resolutions which are not, I am sorry to say, on the letterhead or under the seal of the organizations which passed them, but they have been taken from newspapers and we could easily check them.

On behalf of the Canadian Jewish Congress and thus the Canadian Jewish community in Canada, I wish to thank you gentlemen for the opportunity of making our views known on this important subject.

The CHAIRMAN: We have been very pleased to hear the representations you have made, and you have covered the question quite well. Might I ask you this question? In your brief you refer to the Jews in Canada who were in agricultural activities. Approximately how many of such Jews are there?

Mr. HAYES: We have statistics which we could produce for you, but speaking from memory—and perhaps from information which I can get from Mr. Rosenberg later—there were groups in 1937, 1938 and the first part of 1939 who were

brought to this country as agriculturists; particularly Czechs, Lithuanians and some Polish farmers. There were approximately 800 souls—not all farmers.

The CHAIRMAN: Are they listed as Jews, Czechs or Lithuanians?

Mr. HAYES: Under the procedure as I know it they would be listed as Jews, and they would come in on the statistics of immigration because they were brought here under a permanent land plan, and under regular procedure.

The CHAIRMAN: Where are they located, for the most part?

Mr. HAYES: There are very big settlements at Hamilton, Grimsby and around Bowmanville. There are other groups around the Niagara section, in some parts of the county of Essex, and near Windsor; in the vicinity of Cornwall, Prescott and Liverpool, Ontario. There is a small group in western Canada, and part of the St. Walburg group who came in under the Sudeten scheme contained a few Jewish families; also there are six or seven in Nova Scotia. Geographically speaking this group which came in during 1937 and 1938 actually extends "a mari ad mare".

Hon. Mr. HORNER: There is also quite a settlement at Carrot River?

Mr. HAYES: That is the older settlement; I was indicating this new group that came to Canada in 1937 and 1938. If you wish the older group, may I say there are groups of farmers in western Canada at Estevan, Edenbridge, Hirsch and other places, who came here under a planned farm scheme of J.C.A., the Jewish Colonization Association. Many of those people are farmers there at the present time; in fact, it might be interesting to note that it was in that area that we had the hurricane two years ago.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: And also Kamsack?

Mr. HAYES: Yes; Kamsack, Saskatchewan. I think it should be pointed out, as Mr. Rosenberg did parenthetically, when speaking of the number of Jewish farmers who have come here being small compared to the general population that one must take cognizance of the historic reason for that situation. Down through the middle ages to modern times, and until the French Revolution, the Jews in Europe were not allowed to own land or to farm; in other words the areas from which immigrants came provided no background of continuity of farming, because the laws of those countries did not permit land ownership by Jews. Even in Russia until the revolution there were pales of settlements where Jews were not permitted to own land nor allowed to farm.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I have before me a statement by the Minister of Immigration in which he says:—

It is necessary to state that for reasons beyond the control of the government the amending of the regulations does not mean immediate action can be taken to admit immigrants from overseas. At the present time there is an acute shortage of west-bound transatlantic passenger accommodation, due primarily to the scarcity of passenger vessels, the return of service personnel and the bringing to Canada of their dependents.

What do you say about the shortage of vessels and the persons still to be repatriated?

Mr. HAYES: There is no doubt but that the Canadian Jewish Congress as an official body, and even the view of its members unofficially would be identical with that of the population of Canada, that the service men and their dependents obviously must be returned. There has, however, been the feeling that the lack of transport, or the alleged lack of transport, is not the bar, because when there was no transport on the North Atlantic route at all during the war years, the Portuguese line was still taking refugees from Spain and Portugal. They came to Philadelphia, had transit privileges through the United States and then came into Canada. There are groups going to Australia admittedly in small numbers;

but nevertheless, they are going on the Swedish line. Also there are people who are willing to find ways and means to bring out refugees without interfering with the shipping pool for service men and their dependents.

I wish to make it quite clear when I say that transportation is not the key which is failing to unlock the door, that we do not wish to leave the impression that we would like to use that pool or shipping reserve set aside for service personnel. On the contrary, that reservoir must be maintained to bring service men and their dependents to Canada. There are other features that have not been explored at all, such as the shipping which does not go into this pool, and which may be sold to Greece, to the South American countries or to China.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That is our own shipping?

Mr. HAYES: Yes, out of War Assets. I believe if some thought could be given to our shipping question as it applies to special cases, requiring immediate attention, I firmly believe that something could be done to alleviate the present situation.

Hon. Mrs. WILSON: There are a certain number of ships bringing them to the United States?

Mr. HAYES: I understand they are army transports, bringing them to the United States under the Truman directive.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Surely we have army transports?

Mr. HAYES: I am not familiar with that, sir.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I have before me a statement by the minister, which is an answer to what you have said about the direct travel provisions of the act. He says:—

As there will be a number of persons coming within the degrees of relationship that I have just described who cannot obtain a valid passport required by the present passport regulations, these have also been amended by P.C. 2070, dated 28th May, 1946, to permit of the acceptance of a travel document establishing the identity of the holder in the case of an immigrant who has been displaced from his country of origin as the result of the war and is not in possession of a valid passport.

Mr. HAYES: That refers solely to the fact that many of the people who could claim admission under the present order in council would be barred because the representatives of the Immigration Department would be unable to accept them because they did not have valid passports. They would be declared stateless, having lost their possessions in the war. In order that these people might come in under the present order in council the subsidiary order in council has been provided instructing officers to accept identity documents instead of formal passports. It would not have anything to do with the point I make.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: In view of what you have said about the recent order in council with regard to admissible classes, I think the memorandum in regard to such classes should be put on the record. The following indicates the admissible classes:—

The father or mother, the unmarried son or daughter eighteen years of age or over, the unmarried brother or sister, the orphan nephew or niece under 16 years of age, of any person legally admitted to and resident in Canada who is in a position to receive and care for such relative. The term "orphan" means a child bereaved of both parents.

You say that provision is too narrow?

Mr. HAYES: If I may say so, it is woefully insufficient.

The CHAIRMAN: How wide do you think it should be?

Mr. HAYES: We say this should be extended to include nieces and nephews past the age of sixteen; married sons and daughters, married brothers and sisters, as well as first cousins, uncles and aunts.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: When you say married sons and daughters, I presume you mean together with their wives and children?

Mr. HAYES: That is correct. I would not like to be too dramatic but I think it would be fair to say that the order in council would be a bit of mockery if it did not go farther than it does.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: But you would not have the admissible classes limited in this way at all, if you had the handling of it? Why would you set up a bar to certain classes of relatives at all?

Mr. HAYES: The only point I wish to make is that we say there is need of immediate aid. We feel that the whole question of immigration is going to take some time to study; no one wants to be precipitated in this matter, and a good deal of information will be amassed and there will be committees in both houses of parliament, and a great deal of effort will be expended before a new Immigration Act is created. There may be a desire to see how the rehabilitation of service men proceeds. However, we say, as an immediate aid without going into the whole question or changing the Immigration Act, something should be done to relieve the very tragic and horrible situation in respect to taking care of these relatives.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Would it be correct to say that this order in council defining the admissible classes should give priority to them; that is to say, if you have someone who falls within these near relative classifications and someone who does not, should priorities be given to those who have near relatives?

Mr. HAYES: We would say so.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: There would be nothing wrong with that procedure?

Mr. HAYES: Our main point is to create a stop gap. If there is some feeling in Canada for a new Immigration Act perhaps it will not be necessary to have a new order in council affecting relatives. We want a stop gap, because we realize that this is an immediate and urgent problem.

It was my privilege to attend the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in New York in the latter part of May and early June. I noticed that if there was one thing upon which the sixteen countries, of which Canada was one, were in unanimous agreement—and you well know there were many things upon which they did not agree—it was the urgency of this problem of displaced persons. There was general agreement that every country will have to do something about it.

(Discussion off the record.)

The Committee adjourned at the call of the Chair.

1946

THE SENATE OF CANADA



PROCEEDINGS OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON

Immigration and Labour

On the operation and administration of the
Immigration Act, etc.

No. 7

WEDNESDAY, 24th JULY, 1946

The Honourable James Murdock, P.C., Chairman

WITNESSES:

Mr. Sven Stadius, Toronto, Ontario, representing Finnish Advancement Association of Toronto, Ontario.

Lt-Col. Arthur J. Hicks, Three Rivers, P.Q.

Mr. Gustef Sundquist, Toronto, Ontario, Secretary, Finnish Organization of Canada.

Mr. Karel Buzek, Toronto, Ontario, Secretary, Czechoslovak National Alliance in Canada.

Mr. Rudolph Koren, Toronto Ontario, President, Czechoslovak National Alliance in Canada.

OTTAWA

EDMOND CLOUTIER, B.A., L.Ph., C.M.G.,
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
CONTROLLER OF STATIONERY
1946

STANDING COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND LABOUR

The Honourable JAMES MURDOCK, P.C., Chairman

The Honourable Senators

Aseltine	Donnelly	McGeer
Blais	Dupuis	Molloy
Bouchard	Euler	Murdock
Bourque	Ferland	Pirie
Buchanan	Haig	Robertson
Burchill	Hardy	Robinson
Calder	Horner	Roebuck
Campbell	Hushion	Taylor
Crerar	Lesage	Vaillancourt
Daigle	Macdonald (<i>Cardigan</i>)	Veniot
David	McDonald (<i>Shediac</i>)	Wilson

ORDER OF REFERENCE

EXTRACT from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Senate, Wednesday, May 8, 1946.

"That the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour be authorized and directed to examine into the Immigration Act (R.S.C. Chapter 93 and Amendments) its operation and administration and the circumstances and conditions relating thereto including (a) the desirability of admitting immigrants to Canada, (b) the type of immigrant which should be preferred, including origin, training and other characteristics, (c) the availability of such immigrants for admission, (d) the facilities, resources and capacity of Canada to absorb employ and maintain such immigrants, and (e) the appropriate terms and conditions of such admission;

And that the said Committee report its findings to this house;

And that the said Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records."

L. C. MOYER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

WEDNESDAY, 24 July, 1946.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour met this day at 10.30 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Murdock, Chairman: Aseltine, Bur-chill, David, Dupuis, Euler, Ferland, Haig, Horner, McDonald (*Shediac*), Robertson, Robinson, Roebuck, Taylor and Wilson—15.

The official reporters of the Senate were in attendance.

The Committee resumed consideration of the order of reference of 8th May, 1946, directing the Committee to examine into the operation and administration of the Immigration Act, etc.

Mr. Kingsley Graham, K.C., Toronto, Ontario, Honorary Consul of Finland in Canada from 1932 until 1941, submitted a brief on behalf of the Finnish advancement Association of Toronto, Ontario, outlining the number of Finnish people in Canada and their occupations and advocating admittance to Canada of Finnish immigrants, which was read to the Committee by Mr. Sven Stadius, Toronto, Ontario, who was questioned by Members of the Committee.

Lieut.-Colonel Arthur J. Hicks, Three Rivers, Quebec, former Staff Officer, Military Government in Europe, was heard and read a brief on displaced persons in Europe, and was questioned by Members of the Committee.

Mr. Gustef Sundquist, Toronto, Ontario, Secretary, The Finnish Organization of Canada, was heard and presented a brief on behalf of the said Organization on immigration to Canada, and was questioned by Members of the Committee.

Mr. Karel Buzek, Toronto, Ontario, Secretary, Czechoslovak National Alliance in Canada, was heard and read a brief on behalf of the said Alliance on the history of Czechoslovak people in Canada and the work of the Czechoslovak National Alliance, with suggestions on the question of immigration to Canada.

Mr. Rudolph Koren, Toronto, Ontario, President, Czechoslovak National Alliance in Canada, was heard on the history of the Czechoslovak people.

At 1 o'clock p.m. the Committee adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, 25 July instant, at 10.30 a.m.

Attest.

H. ARMSTRONG,
Clerk of the Committee,

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

TUESDAY, July 24, 1946.

The Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour, which was authorized and directed to examine into the Immigration Act, met this day at 10.30 a.m.

Hon. Mr. Murdock in the Chair.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Chairman, we have before us two groups of representatives; Canadians of Finnish origin, and Canadians of Czechoslovakian origin. There are two groups of the Finnish representatives, and just one for the Czechoslovakian. It has been decided that we should hear the Finnish group first.

Representing the Finnish group we have Mr. Stadius, who is very prominent in Finnish circles. He is the Secretary of the Finnish Advancement Association. He was born in Finland, but has now lived in this country for a great many years.

At one time he was Vice-Consul in association with Mr. Kingsley Graham, K.C., who was at that time Finnish General Consul located in Toronto.

Mr. Stadius is very prominent in a number of Canadian-Finnish activities, and with your permission, Mr. Chairman, I should like to introduce Mr. Stadius.

The CHAIRMAN: I have a letter here dated July 23rd, 1946, addressed to the Senate Committee on Immigration.

Honourable Gentlemen:—The writer as Honorary Consul of Finland from the year 1932 until the closing of the Consulate in 1941 was in close communication with the Finnish people both in Canada and Finland.

I trust that the short brief enclosed herewith might prove helpful to your consideration of this extremely vital problem of Canada's future development.

I remain,

Yours Most faithfully,

KINGSLEY GRAHAM.

Mr. SVEN STADIUS, Secretary, Finnish Advancement Association, Toronto: Mr. Chairman, gentlemen: I wish first of all to express the regrets of Mr. Graham that he could not be here to-day. It was his intention to come, but other matters prevented that.

I am here on behalf of the Toronto Finnish Advancement Association, and I should perhaps mention that this organization, of which I am secretary, and which I represent, is a body incorporated under the laws of the Province of Ontario. It represents about four or five churches and various societies in the city of Toronto. We believe we represent a fair cross-section of the Finnish population in Toronto. In all fairness I should say we do not represent the Extreme Left Element. Provision has been made in our laws for their inclusion; it is open to any Finnish organization in Toronto to join, but so far the Extreme Left Element has not done so.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Would it be fair to say then that your organization is an organization composed of organizations?

Mr. STADIUS: It is an organization of organizations.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: How many organizations do you represent?

Mr. STADIUS: It is made up of five church bodies.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: What would you estimate as the number of Canadians of Finnish origin that you represent?

Mr. STADIUS: I should say roughly three-quarters of the Finnish population of Toronto.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: What is the Finnish population of Toronto?

Mr. STADIUS: I believe it has gone below 4,000, although Mr. Graham has set it out in his brief as 4,500. In recent years the number has dwindled.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Among your organizations are there people of Canadian nationality, or are they mostly of Finnish nationality?

Mr. STADIUS: They are mostly of Finnish nationality.

The CHAIRMAN: Where have those who comprise the difference between the 4,500, as stated in the brief, and the "below 4,000" gone?

Mr. STADIUS: They have either gone up into the bush or to the United States.

The CHAIRMAN: But the majority are still in Canada?

Mr. STADIUS: Yes.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: During the recent war we issued naturalization certificates to very few Finnish people. Has your organization any objection to the Finnish people becoming Canadian citizens?

Mr. STADIUS: We have no objection to that. Rather it is because of the war, when no certificates were issued, that a great many applications are pending. There are applications filed as early as 1935 coming through now.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: You are really desirous of them becoming Canadian citizens?

Mr. STADIUS: Yes.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: What percentage would you estimate belong to the group of the Extreme Leftists?

Mr. STADIUS: Any figure I could give you on that would be absolutely a personal estimate.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: We have a representative from the other Finnish group here. Mr. Stadius has stated that his organization represents three-quarters of the Finnish population in Toronto.

Mr. STADIUS: That is my rough guess. It might be a little out.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Do I understand that there are no representatives of the Extreme Leftists in your organization?

Mr. STADIUS: That is true.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: What is the reason for this restriction?

Mr. STADIUS: There is no restriction. Our charter contains a provision for the inclusion of all organizations. They are welcome to join. I do not know the reason why they have not done so....

The CHAIRMAN: In other words they do not choose to join?

Mr. STADIUS: You might put it that way.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: If they did choose to join would you accept them?

Mr. STADIUS: Oh, yes. The purpose of our organization, which is a central organization of the Finnish people in Toronto, is to join them together in enterprises, to promote better citizenship, and to distribute knowledge about Finland and Canada. Our main object in this particular body is to try to unite everyone.

The CHAIRMAN: But you do not insist on a "closed-shop"?

Mr. STADIUS: No.

With your permission, I shall read this brief prepared by Mr. Graham.

There are in Canada at the present time Finns to the estimated number of 65,000 and of this number probably over one-half have entered Canada since the year 1920. The Finn at home is literate and 98 per cent of the population can

read and write, although naturally the great majority of immigrants are labourers they have had at least preliminary education and find it not too difficult to learn to read and write in the language of their adopted country. These persons likewise come to Canada with a clear concept of democratic principals since Finland has had universal suffrage for many decades and women were granted the franchise in 1908. Following the revolution in 1918 the Duchy of Finland was declared an independent Nation and as such was recognized by admission to the League of Nations. The Finnish Nation made distinct and progressive strides in modernization, particularly in the development of their pulp and paper industry and the electrification of their water power and generally in the improvement of their living conditions. Those who came to Canada following this period were for the most part persons from farms or at least rural districts. They were particularly efficient in lumbering and agriculture and were also readily adaptable to mining and fishing. We therefore find that of our estimated population of 65,000, at least 50,000, or $\frac{3}{4}$ of the population are living in the northern sections of Canada and engaged in lumbering and mining occupations. Of the remaining 15,000 it is estimated that the majority of these persons are women and many of them are engaged in domestic service in the large cities. For example, in Montreal there is an estimated Finnish population of 2,000 of whom 1,400 are women and about 1,000 are engaged in domestic work. In Toronto the Finnish population is estimated at about 4,500 of whom it is fair to say 3,000 are women and probably 2,500 are engaged in domestic service.

The results of these occupations has been in the past that despite periods of depression the Finnish immigrant like many others in the country found difficulties of employment, they were nevertheless not only able but willing to turn their hands to whatever occupation was available and in the City of Toronto I am informed there were only 14 Finnish families on relief in the period between 1930 and 1939.

I would mention also that besides the contribution made in the field of hard rock mining and the lumbering industries that many married Finns who have come to Canada with their families have pioneered in agriculture particularly in Ontario and the Western Provinces. For some reason not understood by myself, but evidently a very compelling force to the Finn, they prefer if given the choice to settle in rugged country on uncleared land and carve out a home for themselves in the wilderness rather than accept the easier task of rehabilitating some old farm in a more settled part of the country. The results are that definite Finnish Communities have been built up throughout Northern Ontario and the frontier of Canada's agricultural districts has been pushed back through their efforts years before the country would otherwise have accomplished this had the Finns not entered Canada.

During the recent war with Russia a large portion of the Province of Karelia has been taken from Finland and 450,000 persons have been compelled to move with the bare belongings which they could carry by hand. For the most part they were thrifty and capable farmers but they are now living in hardship in Northern Finland particularly in Lapland. The problem of housing and feeding them has been acute, but there are many who have friends and relatives who would gladly pay their fare out and establish them in homesteads were they permitted to do so. These persons would bring with them a clear cut view as to the cherished ideals of democracy. I am positive they would also be found to be industrious, willing and would assimilate with our Canadian people in a rapid and mutually agreeable manner. These people would in particular be found loyal to Canada and would I am sure prove a most useful asset in her development of agriculture, mining and lumbering in years to come.

All of which is most respectfully submitted.

(Signed) KINGSLEY GRAHAM.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Would Finland allow her people to immigrate?

Mr. STADIUS: To the best of our knowledge they would. Naturally, they are faced with the problem of rebuilding their country, and personally I do not believe they would encourage emigration because of the man-power needed to rebuild the destroyed communities. So far as I know, however, there is no restriction.

Hon. Mr. DUPUIS: Where have these displaced people moved to?

Mr. STADIUS: They have located themselves wherever they can find vacant land in Finland. There are still a great many thousands roaming the country.

The CHAIRMAN: "Four hundred and fifty thousand persons have been compelled to move with the bare belongings which they could carry by hand. For the most part they were thrifty and capable farmers but they are now living in hardship in Northern Finland, particularly in Lapland."

Mr. STADIUS: I doubt that they have gone as far north as Lapland, for in the main they are farmers, and that land is not suited to agriculture. They are looking for suitable land to purchase with the money which was given to them by the Finnish government in compensation for the land they lost.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Did they receive any compensation from the Russian government?

Mr. STADIUS: No.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I have been told that Finland is like Canada in very many respects, and that is one of the reasons the immigrants proceed to our north country?

Mr. STADIUS: There is no doubt about that. Northern Ontario is so like Finland that if a Finn were brought there blindfolded, and asked where he was, he would swear he was in Finland.

The CHAIRMAN: Is agriculture carried on in Lapland?

Mr. STADIUS: Not much. I doubt if they have moved as far as Lapland.

Hon. Mr. ASELTINE: Can you give me the Finnish population of the Province of Saskatchewan?

Mr. STADIUS: It is just a rough guess, but I would say around seven or eight thousand.

Hon. Mr. ASELTINE: Are you familiar with their settlements there?

Mr. STADIUS: I know some of them.

Hon. Mr. ASELTINE: Do you know the settlements around the north?

Mr. STADIUS: No, I have never been there.

Hon. Mr. ASELTINE: They lean rather far to the Left. They sing the Red National and other such songs at their meetings. Do you know anything of that?

Mr. STADIUS: There are certain communities which lean very definitely one way, and other communities which lean very much the other way. It seems that as soon as immigrants enter the country they get together with their old friends from the Old Country.

Hon. Mr. ASELTINE: How many of them are Communists?

Mr. STADIUS: I wouldn't venture a guess on that.

Hon. Mr. ASELTINE: Would you say fifty per cent?

Mr. STADIUS: That is something I couldn't make a guess on, for I have no figures to go on; but I do believe that by and large the Finnish immigrant is not of the Extreme Left group.

Hon. Mr. ASELTINE: Is your organization a Communist organization?

Mr. STADIUS: No, it is not. I do not know why they have not joined our organization, for under our charter they are welcome to join. Our aim is not to be in conflict with any specific group. I might add that our committee is conversant with the whole problem of immigration. I can speak as an immigrant myself, for I entered Canada in the approved manner in 1924 with \$25.00 in my pocket. In the past when an immigrant entered Canada he was supposed to have with him \$25.00 in cash, and he was duly admitted. Upon admission he was promptly forgotten. While the question of immigration is a very, very important one, and while it is important for the future of this great land, we believe care should be exercised as to who is admitted. We do not feel that because a person is admitted the matter should stop there. An immigrant should not be forgotten the moment he sets foot in this country, but rather some sort of follow-up should be instituted throughout the first five years of the immigrant's life in Canada. During the five years required for legal domicile, for instance, he should report to the Department of Immigration, or to Immigration Counsellors, through which the government could find out how he is progressing. If difficulties are encountered they could be ironed out, and perhaps these people could be directed into channels whereby they would become more useful to the country. If it were found that a person was not suitable to remain in Canada permanently, since he was useful neither to himself nor to this country, then he should be returned to the country from which he came. It is very sad to see how many cases have been promptly forgotten upon entering this country. That is not healthy, nor does it promote or strengthen good citizenship.

The situation, as we see it in our organization in Toronto, depends on the person's ability to speak the language of the land, and to understand the ways of life of the land. It is very human to follow the line of least resistance, and, speaking for myself in Toronto, I know of families who have found stores where they could carry on business in their own language, and thus be spared the embarrassment they would suffer if they had to do their business elsewhere. In our concept of immigration a follow-up is very necessary after a person is admitted to this country. There have been many instances of people who came to this country for the sole purpose of piling up a nest-egg and then going back. A follow-up, we believe, could make them realize that we want them here; that we do not want them to go back, but to become part of and make contributions to this nation. They could be made to feel that we do not want them to pile up a bank account and then go back to their own country and live off the interest. Immigration of that nature should not be encouraged.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: You said we should discourage immigrants from coming here for the purpose of making money and then going back. Would you consider it wise or logical to pass an immigration law providing that if during the first five years residence in Canada an immigrant had not asked for his naturalization papers that would be sufficient reason for sending him back to his country?

Mr. STADIUS: I believe five years is quite sufficient time to find out if you like a country or not. Speaking for myself, during the first five years I had made up my mind. Therefore, five years in which to take out naturalization papers would certainly be sufficient.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: You have stated that there are 65,000 Finns in Canada. Do you know the average number of years each has been in Canada?

Mr. STADIUS: For all practical purposes there has been no immigration since 1931, with the exception of the few admitted by order in council.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Then the 65,000 were here before 1931?

Mr. STADIUS: Yes.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: How many of that number have not been naturalized?

Mr. STADIUS: I wouldn't venture a guess; but a great many took out naturalization papers in recent years. In rural areas you will find a great many who are not naturalized because of the greater difficulties. Often they have to travel many miles to file an application, and then to appear before a judge. It is well known that farmers stick to the farms. If some easier means were provided, a great many more would avail themselves of that. It is just a matter of getting away from the farm, and travelling many miles to file applications.

Hon. Mrs. WILSON: Was not one of the difficulties the families that were left behind, and the fact that the immigrant did not make sufficient money to send for them, and, therefore, did not take out naturalization papers?

Mr. STADIUS: I know from personal experience you can find that situation among people of other European nations, but it does not apply to any extent to the Finns. If a married man comes out alone he is not very anxious to be separated from his family for twenty years.

Hon. Mrs. WILSON: Are there not certain standards of literacy required before marriage is permitted in Finland? Is there not something to that effect in your laws?

Mr. STADIUS: Yes, but it is not really necessary since there is practically 100 per cent literacy in the country.

Hon. Mr. EULER: You have stated that some sort of follow-up system with regard to immigrants should be instituted. What means should be adopted in connection with this follow-up system?

Mr. STADIUS: I have at least an idea for that. In the rural areas where an immigrant settles on the land, and intends to remain on the land, his children go to a Canadian school, and learn English. The parents remain on the farm, and in many cases do not have an opportunity of learning English. A plan could be devised whereby parents would have an opportunity to attend school after regular hours, and be taught the rudiments of English and of citizenship.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Do you think they would attend such classes?

Mr. STADIUS: I believe they would. The majority know it would be to their advantage to understand English. A great many find themselves at a definite disadvantage as they can not associate with the company of their children, because they do not understand what is going on around them.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Have you any suggestions to offer about the lack of any impressive ceremony when an immigrant is granted his papers? I think in the United States they make quite a ceremony of granting papers.

Mr. STADIUS: I have asked the opinion of various Finnish people about that. It seems that at present they go to a solicitor and duly copy the oath of allegiance, which is placed in an envelope and mailed to the Secretary of State. In due course they receive their naturalization certificates through the mail. I was naturalized in Montreal, and it was a little more formal. I had to appear before a judge with one of my sponsors. I was placed on one side of the judge and my sponsor on the other. The judge asked me a couple of questions, and then turned to my sponsor and asked him a couple of questions. I believe that when there is more formality it creates a greater impression, and makes a man value his certificate more.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much.

Some time ago I requested Lieutenant Colonel Arthur J. Hicks to appear before this Committee this morning, and before we hear the other gentlemen appearing this morning, I think we should hear Mr. Hicks. Is that satisfactory to the Committee?

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Chairman, there are two other delegations to be heard. It should be made clear how much time each one has. Perhaps if we gave each one half an hour it would be satisfactory.

The CHAIRMAN: Yes.

Lieutenant-Colonel HICKS: Before I read my brief, I should like to state that although I know you are dealing with the Finnish and Czechoslovakian delegations you have heard delegations from other nations whose people I came in contact with in the D.P. camps, concentration camps, and so on in Germany. I have prepared a memorandum which I shall now read to you. It is as follows:—

1. Qualifications of the Writer

I was a Lieutenant-Colonel, Staff Officer Grade 1, in command of Military Government (R) Detachment in Holland from 11th October 44, to 5th March 45, and in Germany (Rhineland and later the Province of Hanover, R.B. Luneburg) from 8th March 45 to 7th December 45. I was on loan from Military Government to the Food, Agriculture and Fisheries Division C.C.G. from 15th December 45 to 4th April 46.

2. Definition and Duties of an (R) Detachment.

(R) Dets. were specially trained to collect, organize, feed, and care for Displaced Persons, ex-prisoners of war and concentration camp inmates, and had charge of all matters relating to the repatriation of such people to their home lands. Their task was to free the combatant units of the army of all responsibility for D.P.'s, and they usually worked well up with the forward troops.

Hon. Mr. EULER: What do you mean by "D.P.'s"?

Lieut-Colonel HICKS: That is an abbreviation for displaced persons.

Liaison officers of all the Allied nationalities were attached to (R) Dets., and they assisted in the work among people of their own nationality, under the orders of the (R) Det. Commander. The D.P.'s were quickly segregated into their various nationality groups, camps were set up for them, and a system of supply of food, clothing and supplies was organized. Camp leaders and camp committees were elected by the D.P.'s and it was not long before we were able to set up schools in the camps for children and adults, and also hospitals, women's institutes, child welfare centres, etc., which attended to the needs of the people.

We kept camps under continual supervision, and were thus able to learn at first hand a great deal regarding the types, characteristics, modes of life and capabilities of the various peoples with whom we had to deal.

3. Area Covered by This Report.

The area over which I had control was the Regierungsbezirk of Luneburg which forms the northern portion of the Province of Hanover. This section had probably the largest D.P. population per square mile of any part of Germany, and included groups of peoples such as those of Baltic nationality who were not found in the Rhineland or Westphalia.

4. Nationalities Found in the Area.

Nationalities in order of their numerical importance were as follows: Russians, Poles, French, Yugoslavs, Czechs, Italians, Dutch, Belgians and Greeks, together with Jews of all nationalities, mostly of Polish, Roumanian and Hungarian origin, and several hundred Gypsies. There was only a sprinkling of Finns, Danes and Norwegians.

5. Operations During the Summer and Fall of 1945.

Repatriation of the west-bound peoples, i.e., French, Belgians and Dutch, started as soon as they were uncovered, and by 30 June 45 only the odd straggler and the sick remained.

The Czechs were the first of the east-bound people to return home. A large percentage were Jews, and among these, young women predominated.

The Russian move was coincidental with that of the Czechs, and by the end of November practically all had been repatriated, with the exception of several thousand Ukrainians who refused to return, claiming that they were either stateless or of Polish nationality. They did not deny their Ukrainian blood. In my area there were about five thousand people who came under this category.

The Yugoslav, Greek and Italian moves were completed by the end of October. Greeks and Italians all returned, but several thousand Yugoslavs, members of the Yugoslav army, claimed that they were Royalists and would not go back to what they considered was a Communist regime in their own country.

The organized Polish move back to Poland began at the end of September 45. They moved at the rate of 3,000 per day, and by the end of December this movement had become a mere trickle. Of those remaining many stated that it was idiotic to go back during the winter and elected to stay in Germany until the spring. A varying percentage, in some camps as high as 50 per cent, stated they would not under any circumstances go back to a Russian or Communist-dominated Poland.

Except for a handful, the Latvians, Lithuanians, and Estonians refused to return home, and stated they would not live under Russian rule.

Hon. Mr. EULER: You mean that they were driven out?

Lieut.-Colonel HICKS: They were driven out. To explain that, their countries were overrun by the Russians, and then later they were taken by the Germans as forced labour. When the Russians advanced they retreated behind the Germans.

6. Residual Populations at the End of 1945.

- A. Poles—approximately 40,000 remained in the R.B. Luneburg.
- B. Ukrainians—approximately 5,000 remained in the R.B. Luneburg.
- C. Yugoslavs—approximately 1,500 remained in the R.B. Luneburg.
- D. Baltic Peoples—Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians—approximately 2,000 remained in the R.B. Luneburg.
- E. Jews—approximately 10,000, mostly of Polish origin remained in the R.B. Luneburg.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Were the Jews willing to go back to those countries dominated by the Russians?

Lieut.-Colonel HICKS: As a whole they were not.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: They were afraid to go back, were they not?

Lieut.-Colonel HICKS: As a whole they were afraid.

Hon. Mr. EULER: How many were there?

Lieut.-Colonel HICKS: I don't know exactly, but in my estimation there would be about 10,000.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Would you regard them as desirable immigrants to Canada?

Lieut.-Colonel HICKS: No. Most of them are very young women and girls. They were people who had in general come from overcrowded cities. Their morals were terrific from our point of view. They were not in family groups.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Were there many with Extreme Left ideas?

Lieut.-Colonel HICKS: Yes, there were.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Who, in your opinion, among those D.P.'s would be the most desirable people to have in Canada?

Lieut.-Colonel HICKS (continuing):

7. Description of Types and Categories.

A. Baltic Peoples.

- (a) Estonians. Mostly farmers and their families were an intelligent, cleanly and sturdy group of people.
- (b) Latvians. A mixture of professional people from cities and farmers from rural areas. Mostly families. Well educated and a very fine type.
- (c) Lithuanians. Predominantly farmers and their families. Also a fine people and akin in many respects to the Estonians.

B. Poles. The majority were peasant farmers in family groups. Not more than 20 per cent were city dwellers of whom many were professional people. They were in general a sturdy people, but with a much lower standard of living than most of the other people with whom we had to deal. They contained a small minority of ruthless, dangerous bandits who were a continual menace to law and order. These were mostly criminal types who had been taken from jails in Poland and put in concentration camps by the Germans. The Poles formed by far the largest group of people left in Germany.

C. Ukrainians. Predominantly farmers and their families. They were a sturdy lot, and more cleanly and more easily controlled than the Poles.

D. Yugoslavs. Almost exclusively male, and members of the Yugoslav army. The majority of those remaining were of officer or non-commissioned officer status. In general, they were a fine breed of men and most of them originated in small towns and villages.

E. Czechs. There were very few left in Germany. A few hundred Czech Jews, mostly young women, who had not returned to Czechoslovakia.

F. Jews. There were still approximately 10,000 left in my area. They were predominantly of Polish origin and were not interested in returning to Poland. In the main, they were ex-concentration camp inmates and were largely unattached, i.e. not in family groups.

8. Personal Views. The Baltic peoples, the Ukrainians; the majority of the Poles, and many of the Yugoslavs left in Germany would make excellent settlers, and ultimately good citizens, in Canada. I base my views on personal observations and intimate contacts with them during a trying, troubled and prolonged period when all of the best and the worst in a people comes to the fore. Secondly, most of the people whom I have mentioned are agricultural stock, and they, I understand, are the type in which Canada is primarily interested. The Czechs too are a good type of people, but the number left in Germany are practically negligible. The Jews were predominantly city dwellers, and the majority were young women. Their leaders strove continuously to segregate them into a Jewish block, regardless of nationality. There was, it appeared, a plan to get as many as possible into Palestine.

9. Recommendations. That a very close supervision of candidates for immigration to Canada be exercised on the spot, i.e. in or close to the D.P. camps in Germany. That CANADIAN Officers with experience in the camps, who know the Liaison Officers with whom they have worked,

and also the camp leaders, be in charge of the selection of the candidates. Only thus will the undesirable element, who are known to their own people, be weeded out.

All of the foregoing is respectfully submitted.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Were any Germans driven out?

Lieut-Colonel HICKS: I didn't mention them in my memorandum, but in the British Zone there were close to 4,000,000 Germans who had fled from the Russian or Polish Zones.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Perhaps it is too early to state an opinion, but would you regard any displaced Germans as desirable immigrants?

Lieut-Colonel HICKS: This may sound funny coming from a fellow who was in the Army, but I would say yes. Those I met were responsible, hard-working, and industrious.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: But would you have large numbers of them come to Canada?

Lieut-Colonel HICKS: Yes.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Do you not think that in large numbers Nazis would gain entrance to Canada?

Lieut-Colonel HICKS: No, it could be avoided.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: Where were you born?

Lieut-Colonel HICKS: I was born in England, but have lived most of my life in Three Rivers.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: What languages do you speak?

Lieut-Colonel HICKS: I speak English and French.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: Then your information would have been received from other persons?

Lieut-Colonel HICKS: No, my information was very much first-hand. I had 22 liaison officers under my immediate command, who lived with me in my mess and who went around with me.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: Do you know if church people were predominant among the displaced persons. I do not mean any particular church.

Lieut-Colonel HICKS: In general they were.

Hon. Mr. HAIG: Would you say they were on the whole?

Lieut-Colonel HICKS: Regarding the people I came in contact with, I would say they were.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: And their religion was one reason for their displacement?

Lieut-Colonel HICKS: Yes. They were religious people as a whole.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much, Colonel. We are very glad to have had you with us.

Hon. Mr. DUPUIS: There is one question I should like to ask this witness before he leaves. From your personal experience do you think the Ukrainians have fled from the Soviet influence of their own free will?

Lieut-Colonel HICKS: There are two factions, those who have had enough of Communism, and those who were forced out.

Hon. Mr. DUPUIS: But are they largely Communists?

Lieut-Colonel HICKS: That I don't know. Obviously there is a large number of Communists in the Ukraine.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: According to your experience with displaced persons, I gather that you would not be in favour of speeding up immigration until such time as due investigation of the immigrants could be made in their own country?

Lieut-Colonel HICKS: In the country of their origin?

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Yes.

Lieut-Colonel HICKS: If you went to the country of origin you would get anything but a fair picture of them. As stated in the recommendations contained in my memorandum, I think there should be a very close supervision, carried out on the spot by Canadians who are experienced in that type of work.

The CHAIRMAN: By "on the spot" do you mean where they are at present?

Lieut-Colonel HICKS: Yes. It would not be necessary to go to the country of origin.

Hon. Mr. EULER: They would be afraid to say what they were thinking.

Lieut.-Colonel HICKS: That is not what I meant. We could not get a true picture of those who refused to return to the country of their origin.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Thank you for a splendid statement.

The next delegation is from the Finnish Organization of Canada. We have heard evidence that the first large number of Finnish immigrants came to Canada in 1920, and that their immigration was stopped in 1931. Somewhere around 1920 a group of Finnish immigrants formed the Finnish Organization of Canada. I was in touch with it in those early days, and it has kept alive during all these years that have passed. I should like to present Mr. Gustef Sundquist, who is Secretary-Treasurer, and who has been an officer of the Association to my knowledge for fifteen or twenty years.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Mr. Chairman, there is one point I should like to elicit further. The first gentleman who read a memorandum stated that he was the Secretary of the Finnish Advancement Association in Toronto, and that that association was open to anyone, even the Extreme Leftists, if they wanted to form part of it. If that is the case this association may recommend five, ten, fifteen, or maybe one thousand Communists to go through their channels, and enter this country. Is this desirable or undesirable?

The CHAIRMAN: Do you wish to recall the gentleman to answer that question himself?

Hon. Mr. DAVID: If I may.

Mr. STADIUS: Our organization would not be interested in sponsoring immigrants in any way or form. It is purely a cultural association sponsoring advancement of Finnish-Canadian citizenship.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: So you would not sponsor any immigrants.

Mr. STADIUS: No. Any organization is welcome to join our organization, and is entitled to have three representatives on our board.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: You would accept any Communist organization provided they accepted your rules?

Mr. STADIUS: Yes.

The CHAIRMAN: But you would attempt to keep them in line?

Mr. STADIUS: We do not want politics to enter into our organization.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Is your organization purely a Toronto one?

Mr. STADIUS: Yes.

Hon. Mr. EULER: And Mr. Sundquist represents a national organization?

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: When you stated that your organization does not sponsor immigrants from Finland, is it understood that you object to immigrants from Finland?

Mr. STADIUS: No. That is not the function of our organization.

Hon. Mr. ROBINSON: Your organization attempts to make better Canadians of those immigrants?

Mr. STADIUS: That is our aim.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Do you think your organization can change a Communist into a loyal Canadian? (Not answered.)

Mr. GUSTEF SUNDQUIST, Secretary, Finnish Organization of Canada: Honourable Chairman and gentlemen of the Committee. I have a brief here which I shall read first and then enlarge upon.

Canada is one of the last great countries of vast open spaces not only capable of settling, but actually needing many times more people than the number occupying her territories at the present time, in order to develop her vast natural resources and to take her rightful place as one of the world's leading nations. And while there still are countries from which the people are willing and eager to come to Canada, it is only natural that we should utilize this opportunity to increase Canada's population.

At the present moment we still find ourselves in the midst of reconversion from war to peacetime footing. Industry is still partly dislocated and many of the veterans still have to find a place for themselves in the civilian life. We cannot think of any large scale immigration until all ex-soldiers and war workers have been placed in some gainful peacetime employment. But when this has been realized, it is time to open the doors and let in the newcomers. And now is the time to make the plans and formulate the policies.

While doing this, we should profit from our earlier experiences in connection with immigration. In the years following first World War hundreds of thousands of immigrants came to Canada from the European countries, but the population of Canada gained very little, because thousands of people left Canada at the same time for United States. It has been stated that as many as 600,000 people went from Canada to live in the United States during the decade from 1919-1929. They were attracted to leave Canada by the higher standards of living in the United States.

The repetition of this should not be tolerated, and there is no valid reason for it. But it can be prevented only by raising the standards of life and opportunity in Canada to a level as high as, or higher than, is to be found in any other country in the world. This is possible, for Canada is a wide and rich and fruitful land, a country that can provide a good living for all. And our wartime experience shows that the people have the capacity to utilize all these magnificent resources, provided policies are adopted that will encourage and advance the realization of these aims. Without these necessary safeguards from the government, the immigration may easily become a means of only flooding the labour market and cutting the wages of the workers.

Immigration is also closely connected with the international questions, the relations between different countries. An enduring peace is a prerequisite to immigration. Our government should, therefore, use all its influence to hasten the peace and consolidate good will between all the nations.

There should be no discrimination along racial or national lines in selecting the immigrants, for national discrimination is alien to all democratic ideas. It was one of the main single factors in bringing about the calamity that the world has just passed through. And it would be an insult to the thousands of Canadians who laid down their lives in the recent war in order to rid the world of racial and national hatreds.

Vast areas of Europe and Asia lie devastated as a result of the recent war. The peoples inhabiting these areas are in need of almost everything. Canada could be of great assistance to these nations in reconstructing their economy by supplying the necessary materials, and would thus be able to further extend her own industries.

Canada cannot prosper and attain her greatness in isolation. Like any other country, she can attain it only by close co-operation with and working harmoniously in the family of all nations of the world. Immigration as such is not something that will cure all our ills, but combined with correct internal

and foreign policy progressive immigration will bring great benefits to our country.

Finns are a small nation and their numbers in Canada are limited, (41,683 according to 1941 census). But in relation to their numbers they have played a role in Canada's development which compares favourably with any other national group. They have done their part in constructing our railroads and highways, opening of mines and lumbering, clearing of farms and fishing. They still are factors in our basic industries and members of their younger generation can be found in almost every occupation. During the war they could be found in all the different branches of Canada's armed forces.

Traditionally Finns are democratic-minded people. That Finland became an ally of Hitler in the recent war, was not the will of the Finnish people. It has now been conclusively proven that the people of Finland were led to an alliance with Hitler Germany against their will by their then nazi-minded leaders, who relied on the invincibility of Hitler's war-machine and hoped for a share of spoils after the democratic nations would have been conquered. But these leaders have now been ousted and replaced by democratic and responsible leaders. All indications point that Finland will again take its place among the democratic nations.

We are not in a position to say how widespread the desire is among the Finns to emigrate to Canada, but there no doubt are those who are willing to come when the time comes.

As an immediate step we earnestly request the government to consider the inclusion of Finns to the recent regulations permitting the immigration of certain relatives of Canadian residents. As we understand that these regulations do not apply to Finns at present because of the fact that technically there still exists a state of war between Finland and Canada. But the government some time ago found its way clear to grant the Finnish-Canadians permission to collect relief for Finland, for which they are very grateful and are utilizing it with considerable success. We know that there are quite a few Finnish-Canadians who are anxious to bring some of their relatives to Canada. So we hope that the government would deal with this question in the same spirit with the question of relief, and trust that a way out can be found.

Respectfully submitted,

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
FINNISH ORGANIZATION OF CANADA,

G. SUNDQUIST, *Secretary*
LAURI MAKELA, *Chairman.*

I hope this brief has made it sufficiently clear to you, gentlemen, that we are not in favour of immigration on a large scale at the present time. We take much the same view as the unions—that our returning servicemen and war workers should be located in peacetime industry before immigration on a large scale is begun.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: We have heard that we should admit large numbers of immigrants for one year, and none for the next. I take it that your suggestion is that we do not admit large numbers of immigrants, but rather formulate a policy that would go on from year to year, and which would provide proper supervision.

Mr. SUNDQUIST: Well, yes. That is very much the same idea in different words. Now, in so far as Finns are concerned, there is just one thing I want to mention. The number of Finns in Canada, which we have quoted from the

Canada Year Book, is different from that stated by Mr. Stadius. However, that is a minor point.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Can you answer the question I put to the first witness? The 41,000 immigrants, if I understand well, came to this country prior to 1931?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: Yes.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: How many of them are naturalized Canadians to-day?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: I couldn't give the exact figure.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Are you one yourself?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: I am.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Could you give us the percentage of Finns who have become Canadians?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: I would say 60 per cent are and 40 per cent are not. Of course, that is only guesswork.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: I see. You have no statistics on that?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: We encourage our members to become Canadians. It is not easy for the Finns to become naturalized Canadians, especially in view of the fact that they work in lumber camps and mining camps. They work for a few months in one place, and then a few months in another. It is more difficult for those settled in the rural districts to become naturalized than for those in the cities, since the opportunity is lacking.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Are you of the same opinion as the first witness; that your organization has no objection to accepting Extreme Leftists or Communists?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: We have no objection.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: You have no objection to Communists in Finland immigrating to this country and becoming members of your organization?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: No.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: What is the purpose of your organization?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: Our organization was formed in 1911, although there were local organizations before that. One of our functions right from the beginning has been social work, and it still leads, for that matter. We sponsor group movements among the Finns—dramatics, gymnastics, and so on.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Do you not have a large library in Toronto?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: Each local organization has a library, and we have a large central library of dramatics.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Do you conduct your dramas in the Finnish language or the English language?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: Lately they have been conducted in English. We have been trying for some time to get hold of the English versions.

Hon. Mr. EULER: How many of the 41,000 Finns now in Canada are associated with your organization?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: We have 54 locals from one end of the country to the other.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Each local is part of your organization?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: They are direct branches. There are varying groups.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That is fifty odd branches serving as community centres for the Finns.

Mr. SUNDQUIST: In many places, yes.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Have you buildings of your own in these places?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: In most of the places, yes.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: How many halls have you in Canada?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: About fifty.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That is in fifty different communities?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: Yes.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Have you an organization in the province of Saskatchewan?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: Yes.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Where is your headquarters?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: We haven't a headquarters in Saskatchewan, as there are only two branches there.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Where are most of your people located?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: Twenty-six thousand of the 41,000 are in Ontario.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: How many are in Toronto?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: 2,800.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: How many are in Ontario, outside of Toronto?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: There are over 26,000 in Ontario.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: So the great bulk are in the outlying districts?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: Yes.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: What are most of those men doing?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: Most of them are either working in lumber camps or mining camps.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: How long have you been secretary of your organization?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: Since 1930.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: For 16 years?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: Yes.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: In answer to Senator David you said you would allow Communists to join your organization. The first witness who spoke said he would not recommend Communists coming to this country. Would you recommend them?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: My personal view is that no line should be drawn. It is a democratic form of government, and they have eliminated the Nazis and Facists.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Do you regard Communists as democrats?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: Yes.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: In Russia?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: They claim Russia is one of the largest democratic countries there is. It is a democratic form of government for the nation.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: You do not consider a Communist democratic?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: Yes, I do.

The CHAIRMAN: With only one name on the ballot paper?

Hon. Mr. HORNER: I don't believe any Communist is democratic.

Mr. SUNDQUIST: There is just this one point. There is a difference between a Facist and a Communist, and a line should be drawn. Regarded in the true light Communism is a democracy.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: You consider there is a difference in dictatorship?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: Yes.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: You consider there is a difference between a Communist and a Facist?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: Yes.

Hon. Mr. EULER: They are both dictatorships are they not? You believe there can be a democratic dictatorship?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: They are dictatorships, but Facism is a dictatorship of one single body, or a very small clique; Communism is a dictatorship of a class.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: What is the number of that class?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: About 5,000,000.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: What is the population of Russia?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: 180,000,000.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: With 5,000,000 of the 180,000,000 conducting the party, is that a democracy?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: They are not forcing their will on the 180,000,000.

The CHAIRMAN: I do not mean to embarrass you, but are you a Communist?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: Personally, I am.

The CHAIRMAN: You believe it is entirely democratic to put only one name on a ballot paper?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: Yes, when there are no other parties.

The CHAIRMAN: Why are there no other parties?

Hon. Mr. HORNER: There are no other parties because they are shot.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Do you think it would be fair in the next election to offer the public only one ticket?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: No.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Why do you think it is different here than in Russia?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: There are different economies.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Don't you think it would endanger our country to spread ideas such as yours, or those that you are interested in?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: No, I wouldn't say that.

The CHAIRMAN: If I were heading such a committee in Russia I would be shot. Do you think that is right?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: Why?

The CHAIRMAN: Because I don't agree with Communism.

Mr. SUNDQUIST: It doesn't come about that way.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Do Communists receive any orders from any other country in the world?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: No.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Through agents?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: I don't know about that.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Evidently you are not a high-up in the Communist party.

The CHAIRMAN: Glad to have heard from you anyway. Good luck to you.

Mr. SUNDQUIST: There is one further point. The fact that I am a Communist and am secretary of this organization is incidental.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: May I ask if you came to Canada because you were a Communist?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: No. The whole organization I represent is not a Communist organization. There are a few in it, but not a great many.

Hon. Mr. EULER: We do not hold it against you that you are a Communist.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Do not the duties as secretary of this organization come in conflict with your duties as a Communist?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: No.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: You manage them all right?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: I work there, and have to do as I am told.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: By whom?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: By the Executive Committee.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Of Russia?

Mr. SUNQUIST: No, of the Finnish Organization.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: How many years have you been in Canada?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: 35.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: You became a Communist after you came here?

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Democracy made you a Communist?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: Yes.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: What would be your guess as to the percentage of the population of Finland who are Communists?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: It can't be very great, because the Communist party was illegal prior to the armistice. The Communist party had never formed in Finland before.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Had you been in Finland would you be one of those anxious for Russia to take over the country?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: I don't know; I don't think so. Of course, it is hard to say what a man would do, especially when he has been away for 40 years.

Hon. Mr. EULER: I don't want to embarrass you, but are you a member of any Communist party in Canada?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: I am a member of the Labour-Progressive party.

The CHAIRMAN: And you admit the Labour-Progressive party is a Communist party?

Mr. SUNDQUIST: Yes.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Now, we have a representative of Canadians of Czechoslovakian origin. We have here Mr. Karel Buzek and Mr. Rudolph Koren. First may I call on Mr. Buzek, who is secretary of the organization he represents.

Mr. KAREL BUZEK, Secretary, Czechoslovakian National Alliance in Canada, Toronto:—

Mr. CHAIRMAN and HONOURABLE SENATORS:

The Czechoslovak National Alliance in Canada appreciates greatly this opportunity to appear before your Committee of Inquiry into the operation of the Immigration Act. We are grateful to Senator Roebuck for his original motion in the Senate Chamber that such meetings be held, and we believe the thanks of the public should go to the members of this Committee for their interest in the subject under discussion, and to the daily press for their diligent reporting of the proceedings of these meetings.

The memorandum which Mr. Koren and I beg leave to present on behalf of the Alliance must of necessity be brief. We do not propose to go into any of the larger issues which surround the question of immigration, such as whether immigration must wait for the arrival of prosperity or whether immigration will contribute to its speedy attainment. Such issues we shall leave to the government experts. We had thought originally to introduce to you personal examples of Czechoslovak immigrants who have made good in this country in diverse occupations, but concluded that the work of our Alliance as a whole might serve as a collective example of what has been achieved by the Czechoslovak immigrant group. Like other ethnic groups, the Czechoslovak Canadians could cite many examples of success in farming and industry, but we wish to avoid repetition of ground already covered before this Committee.

Three main points comprise our memorandum. First, a brief historical and statistical sketch of the Czechoslovak group in Canada. Second, the work of the

Czechoslovak National Alliance, the organization we represent. Third, suggestions which resulted from discussion of the problem of immigration within our Alliance.

1. Without much exaggeration one may say that the case for Canadians of Czechoslovak extraction is a case for a class of relatively recent immigrants; indeed for a group which was about the last to arrive, before the gates were closed. At the time of the 1941 census, there were 49,912 Czechoslovaks in Canada. Immigration figures prior to the fiscal year 1920-1, however, do not separate the Czechoslovaks from other former subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Before 1914 there were some Slovak miners in the New Waterford and Springhill area in Nova Scotia, and in Ladysmith and the Crowsnest Pass in British Columbia. There were also Slovak lumberjacks and dock workers in Fort William, Ontario. The typical Czech farmers pioneered in the district around Rosetown and Esterhazy, Saskatchewan, and there were others around Winnipeg, Manitoba. You will note that these were all settlers in the rural areas. There were few Czechs and Slovaks in the larger urban centres at this time. Folklore has it that in December, 1918, a Czechoslovak advertised in the daily press of Toronto for his countrymen, and got no reply.

Of these early immigrants, the Slovaks came from Hungary and the Czechs from Austria, and the mentality of both groups was greatly influenced by the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. In 1918, as you know, the democratic Republic of Czechoslovakia was established, and after 1920 immigrants from the new republic were identified as such. For the period 1920-1 to 1924-5, Czechoslovak immigrants totalled 5,402; in the next five-year period, up to 1930, the total was 20,736. From 1930 to 1935, the figure was 4,024, and in the seven-year period from 1935 to 1942, the figure was 4,837. The total at the present time, therefore, is about 40,000.

It can readily be seen, from the figures quoted, that the bulk of the Czechoslovak group, some 20,000, came in the years 1925-9. The selection of these was extremely one-sided. Almost all of them were agricultural labourers, recruited from the ranks of the least privileged in Slovakia. Very few of this group came from the Czech provinces of Bohemia and Moravia. On arrival in Canada, they proceeded to the West, and became the first victims of the depression in Canada. Those years of the early thirties were not happy ones for the newly-arrived immigrants. If they were difficult days for the Canadian-born, they were doubly difficult for the immigrants. In desperate search for employment, they drifted into the cities. "Every cloud has a silver lining." Because they found no jobs, they had to create jobs for themselves. The majority succeeded rather well.

At the outbreak of war, there came a new type of immigrant, the refugee immigrant. These were not impelled to leave Czechoslovakia by a desire for economic betterment, but rather by a tragic need to escape death and liquidation at the hands of the Nazi invaders. A number of these, sometimes of other than Czech or Slovak extraction, were able to bring capital with them, and these were admitted by special Orders in Council having reference to their individual cases. This policy, on the whole, fulfilled its expectations, for most of the new arrivals established new industries and became employers of labour. Generally speaking they were able to look after themselves and to make their own way.

There are, therefore, varied backgrounds and divergent experiences and interests among our group, and we are rather proud of the fact that active co-operation of all the political and economic elements was maintained throughout the war. If all Czechoslovak immigrants were not members of the Czechoslovak National Alliance, yet there were no sharp cleavages between it and other groups. Parallel action, and often co-operative and joint action, were undertaken, and unity was maintained.

II. The Czechoslovak National Alliance, which was formed in June, 1939, selected as its slogan, "Together to Victory," and remarkable integration into

Canadian life was accomplished by its members. They participated in all phases of the Canadian war effort, on the farms or in the factories, and supported the Victory Loans, the Canadian Red Cross and other voluntary drives. The Alliance was one among the many voluntary relief organizations which made up the Canadian war effort at home. Their special effort, dear to their hearts, was for the welfare of the Czechoslovak servicemen who escaped from home to serve with the Allies. These men were completely cut off from their homeland, and Canada, as well as the United States, was a country which could send them the letters and parcels they could not expect from home. Twenty million cigarettes were shipped overseas from Canada to these men, as the most spectacular gift, but parcels of other small comforts were sent, and even babies' layettes for the children of men who married in England.

Along with other war charity funds, the Alliance was a member of the Canadian United Allied Relief Fund, and participated in the national drives of that organization, such as the National Clothing Collection, and in other campaigns held in co-operation with the Red Cross. In short, wherever there was war work to be done, they took part. Their gifts abroad, combined with the immense aid which Canada is giving to Czechoslovakia through UNRRA and through the Canadian Red Cross and other voluntary war relief agencies, have served to make the name of Canada known and admired in Czechoslovakia.

Our new slogan is "Together in Peace." Our relief efforts are continuing, so long as they are needed. Future plans envisage increasing service to our members. We feel, for instance, that our Alliance can do much in assisting new arrivals from Czechoslovakia to integrate themselves in Canadian life, particularly from a psychological point of view. We are hoping for much from the leadership of the second generation, many of whom were born in Canada. Those who were old enough to serve in the armed forces have recently returned, and are at present re-establishing themselves in civilian life.

III. This memorandum has dealt so far with the background and war effort of the Czechoslovak group. Since it is the purpose of this Committee to hear discussion and to collect material which may serve to shape Canada's immigration policy in the future, we are grateful for the opportunity of adding our suggestions to the body of opinion already offered.

The recent Order in Council which now permits first-degree relatives of Canadians to enter Canada was received with heartfelt gratitude by members of the Czechoslovak National Alliance. Their enthusiasm, however, is held in check by doubts as to when these relatives will be able to join them. During the war Czechoslovak immigrants served as loyal and hard-working citizens of their new country. And yet a man's love of his wife and children may influence him more than his new loyalties and his economic prospects. In our estimate, half of our immigrants are married, but their families are still in Czechoslovakia. Many of these husbands came to Canada in the late twenties, with the intention of sending for their families when they had established themselves here. The years of depression postponed the fulfilment of these hopes, and later, when they had the jobs and the means with which to support their families, the war severed completely all communications with their loved ones. The war has been over for a year, but they are still separated from their families, and they see little hope that the situation will be remedied within the next year. The shipping companies have not even started to accept prepaid westbound passages. While it is logical and right that first preferences should be given to the dependents of Canadian Army personnel, yet Canada may lose many citizens from her most recent immigrant group because similar efforts are not being made to bring out their dependents, whom they have not seen for some fifteen or more years. If the families cannot be brought out to Canada, within the next year or so, the husbands and fathers may leave Canada to rejoin them.

Our first plea is, therefore, for emergency measures to help reunite these families. Our suggestion would be that such families be given transportation

preference immediately after that of the families of Canadian Army personnel. It might even be advisable to press into service army transport facilities for such immigrants. As a first and immediate step, Canadian Immigration officers should be established in accessible cities on the Continent, as for instance in Prague.

Our second plea is that when shipping space permits, there should be a widening of the categories of relatives permitted to enter Canada, so that any Canadian would be permitted to bring out any of his or her relatives or friends, married or single in possession of valid Czechoslovak passports, provided he or she could give the newcomers a home. What more selective and planned immigration could be devised, and what better guidance to acts of humanity than the maxim that charity begins at home? Those who have already helped to build up the Canadian export economy would integrate into it their relatives and friends. In doing so, they would spend their wartime savings and provide an internal market for Canadian industries.

The hopes of bringing to Canada, from Czechoslovakia, immigrants other than relatives or friends, are not bright. Czechoslovakia, like other countries devastated by war, is faced with a very acute shortage of labour, as well as a shortage of the foreign funds needed by prospective emigrants.

Our third plea is an appeal against the division of immigrants into preferred and non-preferred classes on racial grounds. People of our group find it hard to understand why Germans belonged to the "preferred group" and they themselves were "non-preferred," although they were at least at the same cultural level as the so-called preferred immigrants. The standards which govern such a division appear extremely rough and ready, to say the least.

Our last plea is for disinterested trustees. We believe that this Senate inquiry into the whole problem of immigration is a step in the right direction. If a working compromise between conflicting considerations does not emerge from this first comprehensive inquiry, may we respectfully suggest that its work be continued before some advisory board within the framework of the Department of Immigration. We should also like to suggest that this Advisory Board, if set up, should have its own information service. Why? Because we believe that a great deal more discussion is needed before the public can be in a position for a fair appraisal of the most important facts, and before all the political, economic, and social influences in the Dominion will shape a wise and beneficial and wholesome immigration policy which would do justice to the future greatness of Canada.

Certain psychological attitudes on the part of the Canadian-born may have to undergo change in the future. On this point we should like to quote what Professor H. F. Angus, a notable student of the Canadian immigration problem, has to say in a recent article*:-

Immigrants are welcome if they are thought of as employers with capital, eager to establish new industries, or if they have the means to settle down as purchasers of Canadian products. They are welcome, too, if there is a probability of their being confined, at any rate for a time, to occupations which Canadians have tended to avoid, such as domestic service or labour in the beet fields. Immigrants are unwelcome if they appear likely to be competitors. They are unwelcome, too, if there is a probability that they will be recognizably foreign for a considerable length of time. A foreign critic, who did not mince his words, would probably say that Canadians did not want immigrants unless they were both easy to exploit and readily assimilable.

It is not usual to find immigrants who combine both these desiderata. Those who win approval because they come from impoverished countries and, as they have low living standards, are likely to be the least easy

*H. F. Angus, "Immigration" (*International Journal*, I(1), January, 1946, pp. 65-7).

to transform into representative Canadians. Those who are most likely to be able to look after themselves and make their own way are also the most likely to compete with native Canadians and arouse the hostility of those whom they supplant.

The considerations which must shape Canada's future immigration policy are varied and often conflicting. Such matters can only be decided at the highest level. As representatives of a comparatively small group, the Czechoslovak National Alliance has appreciated this opportunity to put forward its respectful suggestions for consideration. To sum up, these are:—

1. Emergency measures to assist in the speedy transportation to Canada of the immediate relatives of Canadians who can support them.
2. Widening of the categories of relatives permitted to enter Canada, when shipping space permits.
3. Abandonment of the discriminatory and arbitrary division of immigrants into preferred and non-preferred classes on racial grounds.
4. A system of disinterested trusteeship over immigration policy and action, within the framework of the Department of Mines and Resources, through comprehensive inquiry and information.

R. KOREN,
President.

KAREL BUZEK,
Secretary.

Submitted on behalf of the Czechoslovak National Alliance in Canada, 45 Richmond Street West, Toronto, to the Senate Committee on Immigration and Labour, July 24, 1946.

The CHAIRMAN: We are very much obliged to you, Mr. Buzek.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: We also have present Mr. Koren representing the same organization.

Mr. RUDOPH KOREN, President, Czechoslovakia National Alliance in Canada, Toronto: Mr. Chairman, you were kind enough to allow fifty minutes to our delegation, and my friend has spent 45 minutes of that time. I think he has pretty well covered everything.

In the first place I must thank you for allowing us to present our brief. I was deeply interested in the discussion regarding the religious and political points concerning prospective immigrants from the various countries of Europe. As to the religion of the Czechoslovakians, I can say that in the Slovakian part of the country there are very few non-believers; 85 per cent are Roman Catholics, and the rest Protestants. In the Czech part 80 per cent are Protestants and the rest Roman Catholics, with a very few non-believers. The people as a whole have always been industrious, and in some 20 years built up their country. People from the same part have done the same thing here.

In 1929, when I arrived here as an immigrant, I was sent to a farm in Hazenmore, Saskatchewan, to work as a farm-hand. I went through every step that immigrants have to follow. Since quitting the farm I have entered the drug business.

I can think of no man of my nationality who wouldn't at least make a good living here. My people like to work, and do not like to be public charges. During the depression they would rather do farm work for their bread and butter than ask for relief.

In 1938 a special group, who had \$1,000, were allowed to enter Canada. That money was to be used to purchase a farm. While \$1,000 has never seemed like big money it was sufficient for them to start with, and two or three years later they owned two or three farms. In many cases they also owned a car,

and in all cases everything was paid for in full. They did not work the usual hours; they were up at three or four in the morning, and worked through until ten at night. I think our country needs immigrants like that.

They are anxious to become citizens. I know that I counted the days of the five years. The first day after that period I went to room number 13 of the Toronto City Hall, and filed my application for naturalization. Every two or three days thereafter I went back to ask when I would get my certificate, until they finally threw me out.

We have cases where the Under-Secretary of State and the Department of Naturalization want to know why the families of some men are still in Czechoslovakia. The reason for this is that while it was still possible to bring them here they were financially unable to do so. Now that the war is over they are most anxious to have their families here. In many cases there are fathers who have not seen their children, as the children were born a few months after they left. They are most anxious to bring them here, as they are not going to go back. Naturally 15 or 20 years alone have been enough for them, and if nothing can be done for them, then they will be forced to return.

The CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much indeed.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I wrote on your behalf, Mr. Chairman, to Mr. F. Pavlasek, of Montreal, the Consul-General of Czechoslovakia, extending him an invitation to be present. He replied thanking me for the invitation, and stated that he was unable to accept, as he was relinquishing his post on the 9th of July.

The committee adjourned until Thursday, July 25, at 10.30 a.m.

1946

THE SENATE OF CANADA



PROCEEDINGS OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON

Immigration and Labour

On the operation and administration of the
Immigration Act, etc.

No. 8

THURSDAY, 25th JULY, 1946

The Honourable James Murdock, P.C., Chairman

WITNESSES:

- Mr. A. R. Mosher, C.B.E., President, The Canadian Congress of Labour.
Eugene Forsey, M.A., Ph.D., Director of Research, Canadian Congress of Labour.
Mr. Percy R. Bengough, C.B.E., President, The Trades and Labour Congress of Canada.
Mr. J. Arthur D'Aoust, Vice-President, The Canadian Trades and Labour Congress of Canada.
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STANDING COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND LABOUR

The Honourable JAMES MURDOCK, P.C., Chairman
The Honourable Senators

Aseltine	Donnelly	McGeer
Blais	Dupuis	Molloy
Bouchard	Euler	Murdock
Bourque	Ferland	Pirie
Buchanan	Haig	Robertson
Burchill	Hardy	Robinson
Calder	Horner	Roebuck
Campbell	Hushion	Taylor
Crerar	Lessage	Vaillancourt
Daigle	Macdonald. (<i>Cardigan</i>)	Veniot
David	McDonald (<i>Shediac</i>)	Wilson

ORDER OF REFERENCE

EXTRACT from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Senate, Wednesday, May 8, 1946.

"That the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour be authorized and directed to examine into the Immigration Act (R.S.C. Chapter 93 and Amendments) its operation and administration and the circumstances and conditions relating thereto including (a) the desirability of admitting immigrants to Canada, (b) the type of immigrant which should be preferred, including origin, training and other characteristics, (c) the availability of such immigrants for admission, (d) the facilities, resources and capacity of Canada to absorb, employ and maintain such immigrants, and (e) the appropriate terms and conditions of such admission;

And that the said Committee report its findings to this house;

And that the said Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records."

L. C. MOYER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

THURSDAY, 25 July 1946.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour met this day at 10.30 a.m.

Present: The honourable Senators: Murdock—Chairman, Aseltine, Burchill, David, Ferland, Horner, Macdonald (*Cardigan*), McDonald (*Shediac*), Robinson, Roebuck, Taylor, Vaillancourt and Wilson.—13.

The official reporters of the Senate were in attendance.

The Committee resumed consideration of the order of reference of 8th May, 1946, directing the Committee to examine into the operation and administration of the Immigration Act, etc.

Mr. A. R. Mosher, C.B.E., President, The Canadian Congress of Labour, was heard and read a brief by the Canadian Congress of Labour on "Labour's Views on Immigration," and was questioned by Members of the Committee.

Eugene Forsey, M.A., Ph.D., Director of Research, Canadian Congress of Labour, was heard.

Mr. Percy R. Bengough, C.B.E., President, The Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, was heard and read a brief on the question of immigration submitted by The Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, and was questioned by Members of the Committee.

Mr. J. Arthur D'Aoust, Vice-President, The Canadian Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, was heard.

At 1 o'clock p.m. the Committee adjourned until Tuesday, 30th July instant, at 10.30 a.m.

Attest.

H. ARMSTRONG,
Clerk of the Committee.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

THE SENATE

OTTAWA, Thursday, July 25, 1946.

The Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour, which was authorized and directed to examine into the Immigration Act, met this day at 10.30 a.m.

Hon. Mr. Murdock in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, we will come to order. We are to hear representatives of labour this morning, and I will ask Senator Roebuck to state whom he wants called first.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: We will just toss for precedence. Mr. Mosher won the toss, so he will be the first witness. As the Chairman has said, we are to hear from labour this morning. The two witnesses who will appear before us are the presidents of two great labour organizations representing many hundreds of thousands of workers.

Mr. A. R. MOSHER, C.B.E., President, Canadian Congress of Labour: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I have associated with me here this morning Dr. Eugene Forsey, Head of our Research Department, who will help me in answering any questions that I am not fully posted on, if that is agreeable to the committee.

I have a brief, which I will now read:

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

1. The Canadian Congress of Labour, representing over 300,000 Canadian workers, greatly appreciates this opportunity of appearing before you. The question of immigration is of the greatest importance to Labour, and the Congress welcomes your recognition that before any policy is decided upon representatives of Labour should be consulted.

2. The Congress is chiefly interested in parts (a) and (d) of your terms of reference: "the desirability of admitting immigrants to Canada" and "the facilities, resources and capacity of Canada to absorb, employ and maintain such immigrants." It is interested also, however, though to a lesser degree, in parts (b) and (c): "the type of immigrant which should be preferred, including origin, training and other characteristics," and "the availability of such immigrants for admission."

No Racial Discrimination

3. Assuming for the moment that some immigration is desirable, the Congress submits that there are two points on which there should be general agreement:—

(a) Racial discrimination should have no place in our immigration policy. People from some countries may, because of their background, education or customs fit into Canadian life more easily than people from some other countries, and such factors may properly be taken into account. But "race" (however defined) or nationality ought not to be considered at all.

(b) The last two Censuses have shown a steadily rising proportion of old people in our population, and the recent Dominion Bureau of Statistics Bulletin F-4, The Future Population of Canada, shows that this trend is likely to continue and to become more marked. The following table shows the percentages of persons of 70 years and over, 65 and over and 60 and over in 1921, 1931 and 1941, and the estimated percentages for 1951, 1961, and 1971:—

	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
70 and over	2.8	3.3	4.0	4.7-4.8	5.8-6.0	6.7-7.0
65 and over	4.8	5.5	6.7	7.9-8.0	8.2-9.5	10.4-11.0
60 and over	7.5	8.4	10.2	11.8-12.0	13.2-13.6	15.2-15.9

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That is, our population is steadily getting older?

Mr. MOSHER: Right.

Preference to Younger People

4. On the other hand, while the proportion of persons of working age has increased and is likely to go on increasing at least till 1971, its rate of increase has been and is likely to be much lower than that of the aged population. Raising the school leaving age and lowering the age for old-age pensions will accentuate this tendency. Other things being equal, immigration policy ought therefore to give preference to people who are, or soon will be, of working age. There is no reason why Canada should be expected to serve as a sort of international old people's home.

5. The admission of refugees is not really part of the immigration question. Immigration is an economic question. The admission of refugees, though it has, of course, economic aspects, is primarily a humanitarian question. Canada is under an obligation to humanity to admit her due share of refugees even if it costs her something. It may actually bring her important economic benefits. But even if it does not, she must do her part.

Are Suitable Immigrants Available?

6. The Congress is very doubtful whether suitable immigrants will be available in any large numbers during the next few years. Plenty of Europeans may want to come here, but most European countries will be anxious to keep exactly the types of people who would make the best immigrants. The Congress submits, therefore, that it would be very unwise to base immigration policy on the assumption that we can get as many suitable immigrants as we may want, or that we have only to reach out and take our pick of the world's population. Even if we are prepared to pay substantial amounts for assisted passages, we may find it very hard indeed to get any appreciable number of the kind of people we want.

7. The "desirability of admitting immigrants to Canada" and "the facilities, resources and capacity of Canada to absorb, employ and maintain such immigrants" are part of our general national economic problem. They cannot be viewed in isolation. Specifically, they must be related to the Government's declared aim of maintaining a high level of employment and income. We want as many immigrants as will give us the highest possible standard of living for the masses of the people. We do not want immigration used as a means of getting cheap and docile workers and breaking down the standards which organized Labour has built up. We do not want it used to provide employers with a pool or reserve of unemployed workers who will be taken on when the employer can make more profit by using extra hands, laid off and maintained at the taxpayers' expense when he cannot, and used as a big stick to keep Labour in its place.

Must Be Strictly Controlled

8. For this reason, the Congress submits that neither the framing of immigration policy, nor the carrying out of any policy, should be left to private interests. Both should be kept firmly in the hands of the Government, which is responsible to the people, and the Government should regularly consult with the representatives of Labour and Agriculture as to both policy and administration.

9. In formulating a suitable immigration policy it is necessary at the outset to clear our minds of two widely-held false notions. One is the "lump of work" theory: that there is only a fixed amount of work to go around, and that if you bring in more people, there will be just that much less for everybody. The other is that population in itself means prosperity: that the more people you bring in, the richer everybody will be. Clearly, extra people are not just extra stomachs; they can mean extra production. On the other hand, they do not necessarily mean extra production: an empty stomach is no customer unless its owner can pay for what he needs to fill it. A dozen years ago we had a considerable number of empty stomachs whose owners, through no fault of their own, could produce nothing, and were able to consume only what the employed population was prepared to contribute by way of relief. India, China and other countries have very large populations but are not famous for high standards of living.

10. In considering Canada's capacity to absorb immigrants, the first thing to bear in mind is that the physical size of the country, the fact that it covers nearly half a continent, is almost wholly irrelevant. A large part of our territory is economically worthless and incapable of settlement. The 1945 *Canada Year Book*, pp. 27 and 28, classifies over 56 per cent of our land area as "waste and other land," a footnote explaining that this "includes open muskeg, rock, road allowances, urban land, etc." This land, as Professor Dymond, Director of the Royal Ontario Museum of Zoology, says, "is incapable of producing any crop other than wild life."

11. Agricultural land (defined as "present agricultural land of all possible classes and land that has agricultural possibilities in any sense") the *Canada Year Book* puts at slightly less than 16 per cent of total land area, and of this almost half is already occupied. Examination of the detailed figures shows that the official estimate must include a great deal of land whose "agricultural possibilities" are very slim indeed. It includes, for example, over 9,000,000 acres in the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. It assumes, for New Brunswick, unoccupied agricultural land with an area almost one and three-quarters times as large as all existing farms in that province; for Nova Scotia and Quebec, a larger area unoccupied than occupied; for Ontario almost twice as much unoccupied as occupied. Anyone who has even a nodding acquaintance with these provinces will find it very hard to believe that much of this unoccupied land is really fit for commercial farming, and a recent authoritative study for the Advisory Committee on Reconstruction, by Professor W. B. Hurd, confirms this impression.

Potential Agricultural Land

12. The *Canada Year Book* shows about 168,000,000 acres of unoccupied potential agricultural land in the nine provinces; Professor Hurd concludes that of this only about 27,000,000 to 29,000,000 are "reasonably accessible" and "regarded as physically suitable for agricultural settlement by experts in the provinces in which they are located." "Included in these estimates," he adds, "are 10,000,000 acres in the province of Quebec, which may well prove an over-

estimate by 25 per cent or more." In any event, the provincial authorities in Quebec "hold the view that all unused agricultural land in the province will be required to provide farm holdings for the increase in local farm population expected during the next few decades." This leaves about 17,000,000 to 19,000,000 acres, which, "on the basis of land utilization practices in the regions in which [they are] located, might be expected to accommodate between 70,000 and 80,000 full-time agricultural settlers. Proposed irrigation projects in the Prairie Region, if and when complete, would provide for a further net increase of something over 13,000 farm units. The total potential increase is thus set at between 83,000 and 93,000. These are outside figures. Detailed investigation has yet to demonstrate the physical and economic feasibility of much of the proposed irrigation development."

13. Moreover, there are probably about 12,000 farmers on sub-marginal land who "should be moved to other locations," and "are regarded by provincial authorities as having a preferred claim on unused agricultural lands." This would reduce the total to somewhere between 71,000 and 81,000 potential farms available for settlement. But out of these we should have to provide for demobilized service men, farm people returning to agriculture from war-industries, and such of the natural increase of rural population as may wish to become farmers themselves.

14. In Manitoba and Saskatchewan, "the prospective demand for farm holdings in the post-war years about offsets the prospective supply," and much the same applies to the rest of the country apart from northern Alberta, northern Ontario and central British Columbia. Their "combined settlement potential is placed at something over 50,000 new farm families," but Professor Hurd suggests that only somewhere in the neighbourhood of half, perhaps "appreciably higher—or somewhat lower" would be the potential for immigrant settlers. Moreover, "provincial experts" think it would take "between ten and twenty years" to "properly develop this potential," even "assuming that it is economically feasible to proceed without interruption and in an orderly manner."

Forest and Mineral Resources

15. Our forest resources offer further possibilities for immigration, directly and indirectly, though here again inflated ideas are not uncommon. Total "forested land" amounts to 35 per cent of our total land area (*Canada Year Book*, 1945, pp. 247-8), though about a fifth of this is also included in "potential agricultural land." "Productive forested land" is about 22 per cent of total land area. (The unproductive forests "are made up of small trees which cannot be expected to reach merchantable size because they are growing on poorly drained lands, or at high altitudes, or are subject to other adverse site conditions.") Of the productive forested land, only about 56 per cent is accessible at present. Of the total stand of timber of merchantable size, about 61 per cent is accessible. This provides a physical basis for an appreciable number of settlers, including some who would combine farming and forestry.

16. Canada has also very large mineral resources, though one of the most important, coal, is unfortunately located at the two ends of the country, about as far as possible from the areas where it is most needed; and our supply of petroleum is nothing like large enough for our needs.

Policy Must Be Flexible

17. Statements like those in the six preceding paragraphs are often met with spacious generalizations about the progress of science, new discoveries and inventions which will make the desert blossom like the rose and enable us to grow

bananas at the North Pole. Undoubtedly, new discoveries and new inventions may greatly increase Canada's resources, and make useful much territory now useless. But in formulating an immigration policy for the present and the near future we must be guided by what we know now, not what we may discover some years hence. It should not be forgotten that some of the new discoveries and new inventions might make some of our existing resources useless or obsolete. The fact that the situation may change suddenly and drastically ought to make us careful to keep our policy flexible; it does not, however, provide any justification for a leap in the dark on the cheerful assumption that science will provide a comfortable landing-net at just the right moment.

18. So far, we have been considering simply Canada's physical resources, what might be called the *real* size (as distinct from the size on the map) of our "great open spaces." But peopling a country is not like filling a hall or packing sardines into a tin. It is not a question of how many human beings can squash into a particular territory, nor of how much that territory can physically be made to produce, regardless of costs and markets. It is a matter of economic, not physical, capacity; a matter not simply of what we can produce but how much it costs us and whether we can sell it and for how much. It is also, as Mr. Fairweather pointed out to this Committee a month ago, a matter of the standard of living: "If you want to drop the standard of living in Canada you can support an enormous population." Organized Labour does not want to "drop the standard of living;" it wants to raise it, and it will not accept any other policy.

Canada's Markets for Wheat

19. Canada's economic capacity to absorb agricultural immigrants is even more limited than the amount of decent land available. In the past, it depended largely on northern and western Europe's capacity and willingness to absorb our wheat at remunerative prices. The demand for wheat is relatively inelastic, and the population of northern and western Europe will soon be stationary and within a few decades will begin to fall. Broadly speaking, therefore, the prospects of any considerable expansion in Canadian wheat-growing depend on two things. In the first place, it may prove possible to raise the standard of living in countries which hitherto have eaten very little wheat (notably the Orient) to a point where they will eat a lot. This, however, is obviously a long-term proposition, and depends on international action. Canada cannot industrialize the Orient single-handed. In the second place, it may prove possible to develop a very considerable use of wheat for industrial purposes. But this is perhaps an even longer-term proposition.

20. The demand for our other agricultural products is subject to similar limitations. Once European agriculture is re-established, we may find it hard even to keep our present export markets for meat and dairy products, unless the standard of living in other countries is raised considerably, which, again, is something we cannot do alone. Raising our own standard of living will do something to increase our market for farm produce, but not a great deal. Dr. Hopper, of the Department of Agriculture, estimates that raising the diet of every Canadian to the standard established by the Canadian Council on Nutrition would require an increase amounting to about eight per cent of our available unused agricultural land. Increasing our own population would raise the demand only if the extra people had the necessary purchasing power. As for greater industrial use of farm products, all the available authoritative evidence (as Professor Hurd points out) suggests that plastics, alcohol and other important industrial products can be made much more cheaply from raw materials of non-agricultural origin.

Effect of Technological Progress

21. Nor should it be forgotten that even if there should be a considerable increase in the demand for our farm products, it does not follow that this would mean a proportionate increase in farm population, let alone in immigrant farm population. Technological progress has meant, and is bound to continue to mean, that we can produce more and more food with less and less labour per unit, and perhaps even with less and less total labour. Mr. McGowan—a representative of the Canadian National Railways—told this Committee a month ago, “It has been estimated that with modern machinery and proper organization we could produce all our food requirements with about ten per cent of our people on the land.”

22. Markets for our non-agricultural products may also prove something of a problem. Canada has the resources to produce, and has at great expense equipped herself to produce, far more pulp and paper, base metals, gold, asbestos and ingot aluminum than she could possibly consume, even with a vastly larger population at a vastly higher standard of living. This is probably equally true of a good many of the manufactured products which we have learned to make during the war. On the other hand, there are a good many things Canada cannot produce at all, or can produce only in inadequate amounts or at very much higher costs than other countries, or both. In 1943, when we were more highly industrialized than ever before and were straining every nerve to avoid importing more than was absolutely necessary, our total imports ran to over \$1,735,000,000, and a good third of these were of the types just noted. Clearly, it is good business for Canada to exchange her own surpluses for other countries’; and the more she is able to do this, other things being equal, the larger the population she can support and the higher the standard of living.

Uncertainty of Foreign Trade

23. To a considerable degree, therefore, our future industrial development depends on the future of international trade. Even Mr. McGowan, who was by no means pessimistic, qualified his confidence that “Canada has the opportunity of entering a period of comparatively rapid growth in the years ahead,” with a cautious “provided there is a reasonably effective functioning of the world economic system.” But that is a large proviso. We cannot yet be anything like certain that a stable political settlement will emerge from the discussions of the Big Four Foreign Ministers and the full Peace Conference. We cannot be certain of the restoration of international trade. We cannot even be certain that the United States will avoid another major depression. The very well-informed, able and careful London *Economist* is far from hopeful on any of these points.

24. Even assuming that we get a stable peace, and a considerable freeing of the channels of international trade, there can be no doubt that a major depression in the United States would make it very hard both for Canada and for Britain, Canada’s best customer, to maintain full employment at a decent standard of living for even the present population. It is very doubtful, indeed, whether we can expect any spectacular expansion in the outside markets for our forest or mineral products in the near future; and even under the most favourable conditions our manufactures will face strenuous competition abroad from Britain, which must export or die, and the United States, where the idea of exporting to secure full employment has gained wide acceptance.

Home Market Is Inadequate

25. Some people, of course, will at once suggest that, if outside markets are going to be so hard to get and keep, that is the strongest argument for bringing the outside markets inside, by bringing the customers in here and making them

into Canadians. This, however, begs two questions: whether we can get them, and whether, once we have got them, we can sell the things they can produce. For, it cannot be too often repeated, there is no prospect at all that Canada will, in any future with which this Committee need concern itself, have a population large enough and rich enough to consume anything like all our production of our present export staples or many of our new manufactured goods. We shall have to go on exporting on a very large scale or scrap a large part of our national economy and accept very serious underemployment of much of our capital equipment, notably our grain elevator and transportation systems, with a consequent rise in costs of production.

26. The development of a stable and increasing home market will depend primarily on high, stable and increasing consumption: high wages, high farm income, high productivity, a comprehensive social security system. High wages and high farm income, so far from being incompatible, are, the Congress submits, inseparable, unless, of course, they are accompanied by low productivity which makes both farm and industrial products expensive and scarce. High wages, with which the Congress is more particularly concerned, do not fall like the gentle rain from heaven; in the main, they come only, directly or indirectly from trade union action.

Economic and Labour Conditions

27. It may be added that unless we get high wages, decent hours and condition of work, proper health services and a comprehensive social security system, the chances of high productivity are poor, and high productivity is one of the keys to satisfactory markets, domestic or external. The fullest possible encouragement of collective bargaining, an adequate national Labour Code, and social security, are therefore essential parts of any satisfactory or workable immigration policy. They are necessary to provide a sufficient home market, to provide the conditions which will make possible the conquest of external markets, and to protect both Canadian and immigrant workers from exploitation. It might be added that until we can house our present population with some degree of decency it seems a trifle premature to talk of bringing in any large number of immigrants.

27. Mr. Collins, of the Canadian Pacific Railway, addressing this Committee a short time ago, said it had been "held" (he did not say by whom) "that we could absorb easily 300,000 to 500,000 people a year," and apparently by way of justifying this estimate, he referred to the very large numbers of immigrants who arrived in the years just before the first World War. Senator Roebuck asked if they were "absorbed here at that time." Mr. Collins replied: "They were absorbed." It would be interesting to have the evidence for this assertion. There is a good deal of evidence that a considerable number of these people were not absorbed, and that a good many who were, merely took the places of Canadians. The *Canada Year Book*, 1936, p. 107, shows that in the years 1911-1921, immigrants numbered 1,728,921, while emigrants numbered some 1,217,000. For the two decades 1901-1921, immigration was 3,576,572, emigration about 2,083,000. Between 1921 and 1931, immigrants numbered 1,509,136, emigrants about 1,245,555.

Net Loss of Emigrants

28. The figures given in the *Canada Year Book*, 1945, p. 121, and by Mr. McGowan at p. 139 of this Committee's *Minutes of Evidence*, show that since 1931 there has undoubtedly been a net emigration. It is doubtless true, as Mr. McGowan said, that it was "the lack of development in Canada and the greater industrial opportunities in the United States that attracted many of our people," and it is doubtless also true, as he implied, that the immigrants did not necessarily

drive out native Canadians. None the less, it is noteworthy that, in the banner years of immigration, the decade before the first World War, a period when capital was being poured into the country on an enormous scale, and when, accordingly, it might have been supposed that conditions would be peculiarly favourable for retaining immigrants and native Canadians alike, so large a proportion of both the native population and the new arrivals did not stay but sought what they evidently considered the greener pastures of the United States. This historical fact suggests that Mr. Collins' statements about what happened in 1911, 1912 and 1913, and his serene confidence in our ability to absorb something like 300,000 to 500,000 immigrants a year in the near future, should both be accepted with a certain reserve.

29. It is sometimes said that we must have immigrants because only a larger population can carry the burden of our huge and expensive national capital equipment, national debt and taxation. But unless the immigrants have purchasing power, this is a statistical hallucination. If we divide total debt or taxes by total population we get a per capita figure. The larger the population, the lower the per capita debt or taxes. But this is a purely arithmetical figure, without economic significance. If the immigrants go on relief, they will produce nothing and pay no taxes. They will simply be an added expense. The burden of the debt per head of producing population will be higher, not lower; the taxpayer's position will be worse, not better.

National Economic Planning Essential

30. The Congress submits that the first aim of national economic policy should be to provide full employment at decent incomes for our own people. This, the Congress believes, will require national economic planning at least to the degree contemplated by Lord Beveridge in his *Full Employment in a Free Society*. Of such planning, immigration policy would be a necessary, and might be a most important, part. The Minister of Finance, or other responsible Minister, in drawing up his manpower budget, would have to plan for private and public expenditure for consumption and investment on a scale sufficient to employ the whole working force of the nation, and to provide the goods and services which a modern civilized community has a right to expect. He might well find that the country needed a larger working force than was available from the existing population. He might find that there was not enough skilled labour of certain types, and that the time needed to train the necessary number of workers was so long that the delay would seriously hamper national development. In these circumstances, he would presumably recommend bringing in the proper number and kinds of immigrant workers, and the Government would bring them in, take them where they were needed, and see that they were decently established in the community.

31. In other words, immigration policy would have to be dovetailed in with general employment policy, housing policy, a Labour Code, and social security. Immigration would have to be planned, not left to the hit-or-miss, catch-as-catch-can, Micawberish methods of the years before 1914. We cannot afford to let people come here just as they please, or as suits the convenience and profit of private interests. We cannot afford to leave the immigrant to sink or swim. We cannot afford to expose Canadian workers to the constant threat of having their standards undercut by immigrants who must take any kind of job at any wages and under any conditions to avoid sheer starvation.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That is a splendid statement, Mr. Mosher.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Who is Professor Hurd?

Mr. MOSHER: He is a professor at McMaster University.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: I am very doubtful about professors.

Dr. FORSEY: May I add that Professor Hurd was retained by the advisory committee of the Department of Reconstruction, and he is by general consent the best informed expert on the subject in the Dominion of Canada.

The CHAIRMAN: May I ask a question, Mr. Mosher, on the earlier part of your brief? You said "racial discrimination should have no place in our immigration policy." Is it fair to ask you, does that apply to the Japanese in British Columbia?

Mr. MOSHER: Yes, it applies to any race, class, creed or colour, if they can be made good Canadian citizens. Because they happen to be of Japanese origin it should not affect the immigration policy.

Hon. Mr. ASELTINE: You do not believe in bringing in Negroes, do you?

Mr. MOSHER: I believe Negroes may be brought in with no more discrimination against them than any other colour, class or creed.

Hon. Mr. ASELTINE: I do not agree with you.

Mr. MOSHER: That is a difference of opinion.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: There are some words used a great deal nowadays which make my ears go back. They are such phrases as "through no fault of their own"; "circumstances under which they have no control"; and "standard of living". I should like someone to define them for me, if we are going to live in a free country. One man may have a certain salary and through his own management he has a high standard of living, while another man on the same income may live like a dog. What are you going to do about it? Is that "through no fault of their own"? You spoke also of empty stomachs. Throughout the depression years I think a great deal of money went out of this country to assist Hitler to build up his war machine. The people worked and earned their money in the summer and in the winter went on relief and sent their money over to Europe. There was a Russian delegation purchasing seed through the depression years, and it called at the Winnipeg Grain Exchange. They said they wanted to see those who were getting relief assistance and food. One of the members of the delegation said, "Why do you feed your non-workers much better than we feed our workers?" He also said, "Why do you keep them if they don't work? Over in our country we shoot them."

I have another question I should like to ask you. Throughout the whole of western Canada one cannot visit a farm home without seeing things which need doing. You ask why they are not done and the reply is that no one will work on the farm. I was talking to a man recently who ran a large farming operation in Ontario involving lots of machinery and doing custom work. He called his men in one day and said, "Here, what about raising the wages?" So he raised the wages higher than he had been paying. He said that was the greatest mistake he ever made because the men did not do half as much work as they had done at the lesser wage. As a consequence he sold his equipment and put stock on his farm. That has been my experience, that labour is not fair. They will go to work when the wages are high, but will they try to earn their wages? No. Your organization apparently would increase wages till you would put a stop to all farm improvements and force industries that could probably be more profitable here than in any other country to close their doors and give no employment.

I do not like those words, "through no fault of their own". I could look around and give you instance after instance of men who failed on the farm in Western Canada in the depression, and when you trace the history of those men you find that in 99 cases out of 100 they failed through their own fault. If you would talk to the young men of this country and say, "It is your own fault that you are in this position; don't blame anybody but yourself," they will improve their position. But so long as you continue to say to young men

who do not get on that it is the country's fault, the government's fault, and that they are not getting wages enough, they will not do their best. I think the kindest thing we can do to our young men in this country, if it is going to remain a free country, is to tell them to get out and rustle.

We can take immigrants of the right type; we need them. There is not a farm from one end of the country to the other where I cannot show you work that needs doing; but people will not go to work on the farm. I have my own idea that the more men we have doing that type of work the greater will be the number of jobs created for others. All over Canada our young men are attending universities. Up to a few years ago the young men from the West who wanted higher education had to go East and graduate from Eastern universities, but now we have our own universities in Western Canada and they are full. We want immigrants who are willing to do farm work, to create jobs for others.

You are going to undertake to raise the standard of living, as you say. Will somebody figure out for me just what is a standard of living? Can you measure it as you can a thousand feet of lumber? What is it? Talk about international trade! You are going to have wages so high that Canada will not have any international trade.

Hon. Mr. McDONALD: Do you say, Senator, that the higher wages that people are paid the less work they will do?

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Absolutely.

Hon. Mr. McDONALD: Then the man who worked only the eleventh hour should not have got as much as the man who worked all day, and the greatest philosopher the world ever knew was wrong?

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Yes.

The CHAIRMAN: Senator Horner, probably you would care to put some questions to Professor Forsey and get his answer.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: I would like him to tell me how he is going to raise the standard of living in a country if men spend their money foolishly and if the government looks after people from the cradle to the grave. Are you going to say to people: "You have no sense. We will take care of your wages and choose the kind of person you will marry, in order that you may have a decent standard of living"?

Mr. MOSHER: If you will ask me a specific question I will do my best to answer it.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: What is the standard of living, and how are you going to control it?

Mr. MOSHER: I think the highest standard of living means that we pay wages to workers to enable them to live in homes rather than in hovels, and to enable them to provide proper food, clothes and fuel, and proper medical and dental care, all of which I think Canada is capable of providing. You have referred to people who are unwilling to work. There are people who are mentally sick in the ranks of labour as in other ranks. We have read in the Montreal *Gazette* and other papers that there were only 17 or 18 members present in the House of Commons, out of a total of 245, when the business of the nation was being attended to. Those members who were not there were being paid for running the country. You cannot judge the workers as a whole because of the attitude of a few. There are some workers, no matter what they get, who will not be good citizens. You find them in every walk of life.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: What did you say about people running the country?

Mr. MOSHER: I am only referring to what newspaper editorials have said about attendance in the houses of parliament.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That is probably an unfair statement. A few men can carry on a very important debate, and the other members are not loafing just because they are not sitting around listening to speeches. The picture painted in that article is not a true picture of parliament.

Mr. MOSHER: I am simply disputing the statement that labour in Canada is seeking too high wages and as a group is refusing to do the work that has to be done.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Has there been a time in Canada when willing workers have not been able to get work?

Mr. MOSHER: Most decidedly, hundreds of thousands could not get work all through the thirties. Anyone who has even a nodding acquaintance with conditions that prevailed then knows that we had hundreds of thousands of workers who could not get work.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: If you will allow me to say so, the condition was the same in the United States.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Much worse.

Mr. MOSHER: That is quite true, but does the comparison help us any? Talk about productivity. The wage rates paid in the United States are much higher than those in Canada, and so is the productivity. I think it is reasonable to assume that where workers are given higher wages their productivity increases.

The CHAIRMAN: The wages in the United States are much higher than in Canada?

Mr. MOSHER: Yes, and the productivity is much greater.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Mr. Mosher, from your experience among labour would you be able to state the reason why so many farmers' sons abandon the farm and go to the cities to work?

Mr. MOSHER: Well, I presume it is because of the fact that the agricultural interests have not been developed on a scale to attract the young men and keep them on the farm. Also, young men on the farm probably like the bright lights of the city and the conveniences of the city which they do not get on the farm, although in my opinion these conveniences could be installed on farms. Most farms could at least have electrification and other improvements and be made far more attractive to young people.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: As I said, every farm in Canada is in need of improvements, but men are doing so much less for their wages. Years ago a bricklayer, for instance, got \$1.25 a day, and he laid a thousand bricks in the day; but now he gets \$1.25 an hour and the union will not allow him to lay more than six hundred bricks a day.

Mr. MOSHER: I do not know that labour organizations have restricted the work a man may do. But owing to the conditions under which we have been struggling, if you lay too many bricks to-day you will be idle to-morrow. That has been our experience down through the years. That is the experience we had in war industries. We had thousands of men in shipyards who worked terrifically hard and increased their production, but the moment the war ended they found themselves out of work.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: You talk about people having decent homes. I have seen it in my lifetime that two fellows will go on a homestead where there is plenty of bush, and one fellow will spend his spare time around the pool room while the other fellow is building himself a beautiful home. I remember calling at one fellow's place in the winter. The rats were running through holes in the wall, although there was bush all around him and he had an axe and was a good axeman if he had wanted to go to work.

Mr. MOSHER: Do you accept that as a fair example of the workers of this country?

Hon. Mr. BURCHILL: The tendency to-day is to demand a 40-hour week, and there is a 40-hour week in some Canadian plants. I admit that the week has been too long in many cases, but I am wondering what effect the shorter week will have on food production. I am thinking about the fact that young people are inclined to leave the farm and go to the city. Will the shorter week in industrial plants not tend to aggravate that situation? How can you expect men to work 60 or 66 hours a week on the farm when they can make a living in the city by working only 40 hours a week? If that situation continues will there not eventually be a shortage of food?

Mr. MOSHER: I do not think so, Senator. I think that with proper mechanization and development of farms throughout the country there would not be any greater trend from the farm to industrial employment than there has been in the past. If we can produce the goods and services that are required to provide a high standard of living for our people in Canada and take care of our export market by working 40 hours a week, why should we work 60? We do not want work for work's sake; we only want work because we want the product of our labour. If we can provide all that can be consumed by working a 40-hour week, why work a longer week? We believe that with our skill and our knowledge and our machinery we can produce in a 40-hour week all that we can consume and as well all that we can find an export market for.

Hon. Mrs. WILSON: Will the shorter week not result in a higher price for farm products?

Mr. MOSHER: Not necessarily.

Hon. Mrs. WILSON: Labour complains the moment that the price of milk goes up one cent a quart.

Mr. MOSHER: So far as I have been able to see, the complaint about the price of milk going up does not come from organized labour. It seems to me it is the housewives and women's organizations in the cities who have been putting up a battle against the increased milk prices. I have not known of a single instance where organized labour as such has made any opposition to increased prices of milk or other agricultural products. We feel that the farm worker and the farm owner is entitled to a fair return for his labour, and we believe things can be worked out so that he will receive it.

Hon. Mrs. WILSON: The shorter week would certainly mean that twice as many men would be required on the dairy farms, where they now work 12 hours a day.

Mr. MOSHER: Maybe.

Hon. Mr. ASELTINE: What has all this got to do with immigration?

Mr. MOSHER: Do you mean the questions that I have asked or the answers I have given?

Hon. Mr. ASELTINE: From your brief I do not know what your attitude is towards immigration. What do you think about the immigration of Ukrainians and Poles and Jews and people from the detention camps?

Mr. MOSHER: If we have a plan so they can be brought into this country to the advantage of the country they should be brought in; otherwise, no.

Hon. Mr. ASELTINE: What do you suggest?

Mr. MOSHER: What I have suggested in this brief. There must be a plan to take care of the situation. You cannot bring in immigrants without consideration of all the other factors involved.

Hon. Mr. ASELTINE: I agree with that. But what are your ideas with regard to what you term planned economy? Tell us something about it.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Take everybody by the hand and lead them around.

Mr. MOSHER: Not necessarily. If you want to build a house or any other structure of importance you usually employ an architect to draw a plan and supervise construction. I think the same thing must apply in our national economy. We must plan for production and distribution.

The CHAIRMAN: Do you think the government of the day should be the architect?

Mr. MOSHER: I think the government of the day should be the architect. It should represent the country in laying down the plan.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: With regard to immigration, Mr. Mosher, does your brief suggest that we should have a government survey of a very extensive and thorough character of the resources that we have, and then carefully planned immigration, so balanced as not to bring in a large number of people one year and none the next, but a steady flow of well-selected immigrants, supervised, or at all events assisted, for a time after their arrival until they work themselves into our economy?

Mr. MOSHER: Exactly, Senator, that is the whole tenor of our brief. This idea of opening up the gates wide on the plea that we have lots of room and this greatly augmented population will help out the country is a mistake. Immigrants should be brought in only after a very careful survey and with all the related factors taken into consideration.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: I do not agree with Professor Hurd about the number of acres of land available for farming. We cannot go on calling ourselves Christian or civilized and waste the great amount of land we are wasting here to-day, and force people to remain in countries where they have only a few acres on which to grow a livelihood for themselves. If we persist in that attitude some day the matter will be settled by war and this country will be taken away from us. I think it is nothing but a national calamity that in a vast country like Canada so many acres of good land should be going to waste. Butter is the finest food in the world, yet it is being doled out to us simply because dairy herd after dairy herd have been sold across the line, the owners being obliged to quit dairy farming as they cannot find the labour necessary to enable them to continue in the business. If a farmer does secure help he has to pay higher wages for less work.

Mr. MOSHER: I think, Senator, I can agree with you very largely, but the question I would have to throw back would be this: Do you want to go back to the conditions which faced our farmers and agricultural interests in the '30's, when it was claimed by most farmers, at least in Western Canada, that they were producing wheat at a loss? Do you want us to crowd the land so that the farmer will not get a fair price for the things he produces by reason of over production. It seems to me that not only for the protection of the workers but also for the protection of the farmers you have to be careful about bringing in huge numbers of people without any plan or consideration of the factors that have to be taken into account.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: I am opposed to your word "plan".

Mr. MOSHER: Of course, I cannot help that. That is my word for what I think is necessary.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: We are being planned to death.

Mr. MOSHER: That may be true, but you may be planned to death by plans that are not adequate to the situation. That, however, certainly does not deteriorate the value of proper plans.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Tell us something about the standard of living. You say it is necessary to maintain it. Have we to-day a standard of living generally applicable to Canada that is too luxurious? Is it necessary to maintain it?

Mr. MOSHER: I think it is not only necessary to maintain our present standard of living but to improve it. I think we have the facilities for doing so. I do not think there should be any limit placed on the standard of living of our people. They should be enabled to enjoy the highest standard of living so long as we have the human and natural resources to produce it.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Combine the two?

Mr. MOSHER: Yes. If we are not going to be prevented from doing that by bottle-necks of finance or whatever else it may be. In other words, if we can produce a standard of living that will improve the wealth, the morale and the general health of our people, is there any reason why we should allow artificial barriers to prevent us from doing it? That is the point exactly.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I am interested in the suggestion that the working man is not giving a fair day's return for the wages he gets, and the illustration of the bricklayer. I have never laid bricks myself, but I imagine that laying six hundred bricks in a proper workmanlike manner might be a fairly good day's work. What do you say about the actual labour that is now given by the working men of this country?

Mr. MOSHER: I think the working men of this country are giving a fair day's work for a fair day's pay.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That does not apply in every instance?

Mr. MOSHER: No. Of course, as I say, we have mentally ill people in the ranks of labour as well as elsewhere. I think any person who won't give a fair day's work for a fair day's pay is mentally ill. It may be that certain conditions are present which affect his mental attitude and so impair his judgment.

Hon. Mr. ASELTINE: A carpenter drives only so many nails a day and carries only so many boards: that is going on all over the country.

Mr. MOSHER: In spite of that, Senator, we had many thousands of carpenters who were unemployed for upwards of seven years from 1929 up until almost the break of the last great war.

Hon. Mr. ASELTINE: That applied all over the world.

Mr. MOSHER: I know; but the fact that it did apply is no reason why we should continue on in that condition.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: So the fewer nails they drive and the less work they do, the longer the work will last.

Mr. MOSHER: That may be an incentive for some people to do less work because they fear they may be in the ranks of the unemployed. I do not blame any man who will to some extent slow up his work if he feels that otherwise within a week he will be on the dole.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: If I were in that position, I would find something else to do. The trouble is that because a man is a carpenter he won't do any other kind of work.

Hon. Mr. TAYLOR: Would you say those conditions prevail to-day?

Mr. MOSHER: No. But there are still unemployed people in this country — people anxious to work but they cannot find jobs.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: They are looking for only a certain kind of work.

Mr. MOSHER: Yes, but some may not be physically capable of doing other work. There was a time when the only work available for a large group of people was in the logging industry. A great many men cannot go into the logging industry because they lack the necessary physical strength; the same applies to farming. There are some people who can and will not work, but that is not generally so. I am sure we are not going to condemn the churches of our country because some preacher happens to get away with the collection taken some Sunday; and I don't think you can condemn organized labour simply because there are some workers who will mooch on the job, regardless.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Even during the years when men were riding the freight trains I personally know some who refused to work right then. I have collared dozens of them when they were lying around the sidings and not one would take a job. Some even had a thousand dollars or more in their pockets, but they were taking free rides on the freight trains.

Mr. MOSHER: On the other hand, Senator, we have had periods when men had to ride the rods from one town to another hoping and praying to get work.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Many were not looking for work.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I do not think we are concerned as to whether some men want to do less work for more money while others want to give less money and get more work. Both classes have their point of view; neither is entirely reasonable; there is something to be said on both sides. We might talk all morning on that without reaching any satisfactory conclusion. Our purpose, I submit, Mr. Chairman, is to discuss the question of immigration—whether we should have immigrants, where we can get them from, how many we should admit, and the conditions under which we should receive them. I can see from your brief, Mr. Mosher, that you are in favour of immigration if it is properly planned so that it does not result in reducing our standard of living, and by maintaining that standard of living or improving it we can make this great country of ours even more prosperous and our people more happy.

Mr. MOSHER: Correct.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: With that view I may say I am entirely in accord. Now let us apply our minds to this problem of what department should undertake the enterprise which you suggest, but do not define very well. In your brief you discuss the question of our natural resources. I think we are very deficient in our knowledge of them. You also discuss the organization of industry in such a way that we can make use of more men with advantage to ourselves and to the immigrants that we bring here. I should like you to elaborate a little more on these points, drawing on your intimate knowledge of the subject as the head of a tremendous labour organization. What would you recommend that this committee should do?

Mr. MOSHER: In reply to your question, Senator Roebuck, may I say that in 1943 the Canadian Congress of Labour presented a memorandum to the Reconstruction Committee of the House of Commons, in which we made definite suggestions for a survey of the nation's requirements. We should be very glad to supply you with a copy of that memorandum, and we think it would contain all the material as to what we think ought to be done in dealing with the question of immigration.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: We should be very glad to have that document.

Mr. MOSHER: You will find that we suggested there a governmental body representative of the various interests in the community, industry, labour, agriculture and so on, to make a complete survey, in order to determine our capacity to produce what is needed and how we should go about it. I think that document contains all I could say to your committee this morning with respect to that feature.

The CHAIRMAN: If there are no further questions of Mr. Mosher from any members of the committee we will say thank you and happy days.

Mr. MOSHER: Thank you, gentlemen, and if there is any other material which you would like to have us provide, or any further explanation of our viewpoint we should be very glad to supply it in written form.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: We might like to get a little more on your planned economy.

Mr. MOSHER: All right; we will draft a complete planned economy if the government will give us any assurance they will use it.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, we have now before us Mr. Percy R. Bengough, C.B.E., President of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, and with him is Mr. J. Arthur D'Aoust, Vice-President of the Association.

Mr. PERCY R. BENGOUGH:

The Honourable JAMES MURDOCK, P.C., and
Honourable Members of the Standing Committee on
Immigration and Labour of The Senate of Canada.

Honourable SIRS: The Trades and Labour Congress of Canada has considered the question of immigration for many years. Believing it may be of interest to the Members of the Senate Committee, we are attaching to this Memorandum the views on the question of immigration as expressed at the conventions of this Congress at the time and place stipulated. Naturally, with changing times, some changes have been made in the views expressed during the years. However, there has been no change in the particular view which has been and still is contained in the platform of principles of this Congress, which states: "Exclusion of all races that cannot be properly assimilated into the national life of Canada."

It must be recognized that there are citizens of other countries who may be good brothers and sisters, internationally, but yet would not be acceptable as brothers and sisters-in-law to Canadians. Experience has clearly demonstrated that because of this fact certain nationals who have in the past been admitted into Canada remain as a distinct race and will remain a problem for future generations. The result of permitting such an immigration policy has been equally unfair to those admitted and to their children, as to the citizens of Canada generally. Organized Labour naturally opposed such immigration for the fact that such immigrants came and for many years stayed as a source of cheap labour, which, of course, was the same reason that the "get rich quick employers" of that day welcomed them. Any system of selection must include the suitability of assimilation, and must, in the best interests of all, be rigidly adhered to.

At the last Convention of this Congress, held in the City of Toronto, September, 1944, the Standing Committee on Post-war Rehabilitation reported as follows:—

Whether we in Canada are prepared to adopt a progressive immigration policy is a matter of vital concern. We cannot ignore the fact of the wonderful productive advantages of our industries, agriculture and our valuable natural resources and in our judgment we should be willing to accept selected people only in such degrees that they can be absorbed and do not vitally affect the general welfare of our own citizens and that full employment and security are assured to all before any attempts are made to remove existing restrictions.

This was unanimously endorsed by the Convention and represents the present day views of the Congress on the question of immigration, with the inclusion of recognition of the need of proper housing. We might add that there is a general recognition that this country could and should maintain a far larger population than we have at present. In face of the future prospects of less export trade as a result of the improvements made in importing countries both agriculturally and industrially, Canadians must, of necessity, give more attention to the development of Canada and to their home market, which is possible only if our people are gainfully employed with a buying power in balance with their ability to produce. Unquestionably a larger population would mean more customers both for the manufacturer and the merchant; neither can we overlook the fact that twelve million people are not sufficient to hold such a country as Canada, so rich in natural resources, indefinitely.

In conclusion, we wish to leave this thought with this Committee: The problem of securing selected immigrants is no less than the one of how to retain them as citizens. Some claiming to be informed have stated that the natural birth increase from the time of Confederation would have resulted in a population equal to that at present. If such were true, then all results of past immigration have been lost.

A five-year survey conducted on the Pacific Coast a few years ago by the trade union movement did show that fifty per cent of our building trades mechanics had taken employment in the United States. Many of them, undoubtedly immigrants trained in Canada to our construction methods, then went to the United States as first-class workmen. The same applies to thousands of our apprentices, our working population and to the graduates of our universities. While Canada can supply the education and meet the cost in producing artisans and scientists, we have not yet found the answer to providing them with a standard of living sufficient to retain their services, so necessary to the building and development of this great country. Until means are found to retain our ablest and brightest citizens, the looking for new immigrants to educate, train and lose is not so important. On the face of it our first job is to repair the container, then pour in the new immigrants.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That is a very good brief. On the first page you point out that the natural birth rate since the time of Confederation would give us approximately our present population; and therefore you draw the conclusion that the results of past immigration have been lost. Is it not possible that if we had not brought immigrants here the population might have been much less?

Mr. BENGOUGH: I think that is possible, yes, but still we have not gained.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: It is unfortunate that we have lost so many, but you cannot say that all our efforts in bringing immigrants here have been lost.

Hon. Mr. ROBINSON: We might have lost a great many without bringing others in.

Mr. BENGOUGH: Of course that is a debatable question. I know that throughout the trades and I am speaking of the working population—and I also have some experience with the university—that we have trained men and women and Uncle Sam got the finished product; Canada brought in the apprentice and trained him in its ways, and taught him to forget the ways of the old land, all at no cost to the United States. But the desire of the workman was to get over there and secure a better standard of living.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: On the other hand, we have brought many trained artisans from Great Britain and other countries who have been wonderful workmen for the last several generations.

Mr. BENGOUGH: Undoubtedly.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: So there has been perhaps an exchange.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: We in western Canada have received a considerable number of what you might call immigrants which the United States trained.

Mr. BENGOUGH: You mean who came up from the United States?

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Who came from the United States to Canada.

Mr. BENGOUGH: There are some but not very many.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I like your thought about repairing the container before pouring in more material. Have you some thought as to how we can repair the container?

Mr. BENGOUGH: Of course it depends on the standard of living. That is why they left.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I know that is true from personal experience. I had a brother who trained in our schools and universities, who became a scientist of some ability and of course was taken up by the American university and has been over there for his productive life.

Mr. BENGOUGH: He went there for a larger life.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: And because the university here was proposing to pay him starvation wages for the services of a skilled man; he would not take it and went some place where he would be properly paid.

The CHAIRMAN: May I ask a question, Mr. Bengough? You state the platform of principles of your congress is "exclusion of all races that cannot be properly assimilated into the national life of Canada". Just what does that mean? I asked the question of Mr. Mosher concerning the Japanese, and I should like your thought on what that platform of principles means.

Mr. BENGOUGH: Of course we all subscribe to the principle that there should be no racial discrimination. In an international way the Japanese might be good brothers and sisters, but if they do not recommend themselves as sons-in-law or sisters-in-law then I think that is the test. If we do not accept that principle then, whether we like it or not, whether or not we admit them becomes a racial question.

The CHAIRMAN: You do hold that they cannot be properly assimilated into the national life of Canada?

Mr. BENGOUGH: I would say that they could not, because they are a fixed and distinct race and remain that way in Canada.

The CHAIRMAN: What other races would that apply to?

Hon. Mr. HORNER: I think it is highly improper to expect Mr. Bengough to name the races to whom he would be opposed. I take it from his brief that he differs from Mr. Mosher. Mr. Bengough says "that there are citizens of other countries who may be good brothers and sisters, internationally, but yet would not be acceptable as brothers- and sisters-in-law to Canadians." I do not think it is fair to the witness to put him on the spot by asking him to say definitely whom he means.

The CHAIRMAN: I do not want to put him on the spot; I simply wanted to ask him what classes he had in mind.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: I take it from his brief that he believes in selected immigration; I think that is clearly set out in his brief.

The CHAIRMAN: He suggests the "exclusion of all races that cannot be properly assimilated in to the national life of Canada." What are those races?

Hon. Mr. HORNER: I do not think it is fair to ask him that?

Hon. Mr. McDONALD: We know what they are.

Mr. BENGOUGH: I do not know, really, that I would be called upon to answer that. We have set that out as a principle and it has been in the platform of principles of our Congress.

Hon. Mr. ASELTINE: We know pretty well who they are.

Mr. BENGOUGH: I do not know whether it would be good to mention specific races. On the Pacific Coast we had unions in which Japanese were members and we got on very well with them, but the general picture and the fact that they could not be assimilated certainly showed that we should have selection in the future.

The CHAIRMAN: You know that they were originally brought there as cheap labour.

Mr. BENGOUGH: We know that they were brought there by the canneries and others. They came in their sampans, and the boats were burned on the beach. That was not done very often, of course, and the immigration officials did not know about it. Those people remained as a reservoir of cheap labour.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Do you draw a distinction between the Japanese who seek entrance here as immigrants and those who have come here and become Canadian citizens? I do not want what you have said to be misinterpreted with

regard to that problem of the Japanese who have become Canadian citizens and naturalized British subjects.

Hon. Mr. ASELTINE: That question is not before us now.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: All right, so long as that is understood.

Mr. BENGOUGH: There are a number of different views that could be expressed on that.

Hon. Mr. ROBINSON: The question that Senator Roebuck asked, as to how you would repair the container, is I think a very important one. How can you keep Canadians in Canada and prevent a leakage into the United States? There are upwards of a million Maritimers in the United States. We want a container that is not only tight enough to hold our immigrants, but tight enough to hold our natural increase in population. There are almost as many Maritimers in the United States as in Canada, and that is not a satisfactory situation.

Mr. BENGOUGH: There is no question that if we asked the Canadians who are on the other side of the line why they went there, we would get a ready reply.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Would not one way of repairing the container be to pay off our national debt and reduce the income tax on labour?

Mr. BENGOUGH: I do not think there is any doubt that if we offered our people the same inducements, the same standard of living, as they can get in the United States, they would never go there.

Hon. Mr. ROBINSON: Elaborate on that.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Mosher made the point that the standard of living is the result of the application of labour intelligently to natural resources. Then you get the commodities that constitute the standard of living. Is that not a simple statement of the picture? We have the resources here. Is it not a question of the valuation of our natural resources? If our natural resources are over-valued, then too large a proportion of the produce goes to mere ownership and too little to labour?

Mr. BENGOUGH: I would agree with that. I think we have to size up the situation rightly. We have to admit, I think, that there are really no problems of production in Canada.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: You mean we have solved them?

Mr. BENGOUGH: I think our war effort demonstrated that. We were able to maintain during the war period almost a million in the armed services. Those were people taken out of civilian production. We had almost another million producing the materials of war. Our working population was not only able to maintain and supply them with all their needs, but we also made very substantial donations both in munitions and supplies to our allies, and rightly so. One can hardly argue that in a country which can do such things there is a problem of production.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: And while we were doing that we lived better than in the preceding years.

Mr. BENGOUGH: We lived better than in the depression years. I would say that a standard of living means considerably more than ability to pay the landlord and the grocer. It certainly would not be sensible to advertise washing machines and radios to men who can only meet the rent and the grocery bill.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Lower the income tax.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That is, a decent standard of living will include the washing machine and radio?

Mr. BENGOUGH: Undoubtedly, and many other things that go to make up modern life.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bengough, you have another document to read to us, I understand?

Mr. BENGOUGH: I have a rather long historical record here, but perhaps it would be agreeable to the committee if I read only the concluding paragraphs:—

ACTION TAKEN ON THE QUESTION OF IMMIGRATION AT CONVENTION OF THE TRADES AND LABOUR CONGRESS OF CANADA IN 1934-1944

One thousand nine hundred and forty three (Quebec)—The Quebec Provincial Federation of Labour protested the “importation of tradesmen from Britain to this country to work for wages inferior to those being paid Canadian workmen.” That matter was brought up at our convention that year in a special resolution calling upon the Government to “facilitate a rescue program so that Canada may, to its undying glory, participate to rescue those who are in need of salvation.”

One thousand nine hundred and forty four (Toronto)—The matter of immigration was debated at length and there was a wide variance of opinion expressed when the following resolution was adopted:—

Whereas, there is a demand in some quarters for a softening of the restrictions on immigration to this country; and whereas, the war in Europe has created a terrific refugee problem in connection with the mass flight of hundreds of thousands of innocent victims of the Nazis.

Therefore, be it resolved that Canada’s Immigration Act be revised to make it possible for Canada to do her share in granting refuge to her full quota of refugees; and be it further resolved, that a policy of accepting immigrants into this country be pursued so long as such policy in no way adversely affects living standards or the welfare of our present Canadian population.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: In other words, labour at the present moment, as Mr. Mosher said, is prepared to do its part, even though it may cost it something, that Canada shall be a Christian nation in this matter. Am I correct in that?

Mr. BENGOUGH: That is right.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Also, that labour is satisfied to bring people to this country providing it does not reduce the standard of living and bring about economic problems that are beyond our power of solution?

Mr. BENGOUGH: That is correct.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I do not think you are very far away from the members of our committee.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: No. I think he has presented a very good brief.

Mr. J. ARTHUR D’AOUST: Gentlemen, I listened to the remarks by Senator Horner about labour wanting to have more money and working less. As far as I am concerned, I represent craft unions, and they are mostly guided by machines; there is certainly no question of the people wanting more money and working less because the machines control their productivity. It was said that labour does not want to work, and wants shorter hours. I do not think that applies to the general picture in Canada. I protest that view.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: I have a good deal of sympathy with the view of the Social Credit people. They think that we do not all have to be employed; some people prefer to be idle. I had to work all my life, but I would not want to condemn everybody to it. The Social Crediters claim that we do not have to work, that it is leisure we should be looking for in this country.

The CHAIRMAN: If there are no further questions may I express the thanks of the committee to Mr. Bengough and Mr. D’Aoust for appearing before us.

The Committee adjourned until Tuesday, July 30, at 10.30 a.m.

1946

THE SENATE OF CANADA



PROCEEDINGS OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON

Immigration and Labour

On the operation and administration of the
Immigration Act, etc.

No. 9

TUESDAY, 30th JULY, 1946

The Honourable James Murdock, P.C., Chairman

WITNESSES:

Mr. B. K. Sandwell, LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.C., Toronto, Ontario, Honorary Chairman, Canadian National Committee on Refugees.

Miss Constance Hayward, Toronto, Ontario, Executive Secretary, Canadian National Committee on Refugees.

OTTAWA

EDMOND CLOUTIER, C.M.G., B.A., L.Ph.,
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
CONTROLLER OF STATIONERY
1946

STANDING COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND LABOUR

The Honourable JAMES MURDOCK, P.C., Chairman
The Honourable Senators

Aseltine	Donnelly	McGeer
Blais	Dupuis	Molloy
Bouchard	Euler	Murdock
Bourque	Ferland	Pirie
Buchanan	Haig	Robertson
Burchill	Hardy	Robinson
Calder	Horner	Roebuck
Campbell	Hushion	Taylor
Crerar	Lesage	Vaillancourt
Daigle	Macdonald (<i>Cardigan</i>)	Veniot
David	McDonald (<i>Shediac</i>)	Wilson

ORDER OF REFERENCE

EXTRACT from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Senate, Tuesday, July 30, 1946.

"That the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour be authorized and directed to examine into the Immigration Act (R.S.C. Chapter 93 and Amendments) its operation and administration and the circumstances and conditions relating thereto including (a) the desirability of admitting immigrants to Canada, (b) the type of immigrant which should be preferred, including origin, training and other characteristics, (c) the availability of such immigrants for admission, (d) the facilities, resources, and capacity of Canada to absorb, employ and maintain such immigrants, and (e) the appropriate terms and conditions of such admission;

And that the said Committee report its findings to this house;

And that the said Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records."

L. C. MOYER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, 30 July, 1946.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the standing committee on Immigration and Labour met this day at 10.30 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators, Murdock—Chairman; Bouchard, Buchanan, Daigle, David, Ferland, Horner, Macdonald (*Cardigan*), McDonald (*Shediac*), Molloy, Robinson, Roebuck, Taylor, Vaillancourt and Wilson.—15.

The official reporters of the Senate were in attendance.

The Committee resumed consideration of the order of reference of 8th of May, 1946, directing the Committee to examine into the operation and administration of the Immigration Act, et cetera.

Copies of the memorandum submitted by the Canadian Congress of Labour to the House of Commons Committee on Reconstruction and Re-Establishment July 15, 1943, were distributed to members of the Committee.

The Honourable Senator Cairine Wilson, Chairman, Canadian National Committee on Refugees, was heard and gave a resumé of the activities of the Canadian National Committee on Refugees.

Mr. B. K. Sandwell, LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.C., Toronto, Ontario, Honorary Chairman, Canadian National Committee on Refugees, was heard on the question of refugees and immigration to Canada, and was questioned by members of the committee.

Miss Constance Hayward, Toronto, Ontario, Executive Secretary, Canadian National Committee on Refugees, was heard on the activities of the Canadian National Committee on Refugees with respect to assisting refugees in Canada, and was questioned by members of the committee.

On motion, it was—

Resolved that the Honourable Senators Burchill, David, Horner, Murdock (Chairman) and Roebuck, be appointed a Sub-Committee to prepare a draft report for submission to the committee.

At 1 o'clock p.m. the committee adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, 31st July instant, at 10.30 a.m.

Attest.

H. ARMSTRONG,
Clerk of the Committee.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

THE SENATE,

OTTAWA, Tuesday, July 30, 1946.

The Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour, which was authorized and directed to examine into the Immigration Act, met this day at 10.30 a.m.

Hon. Mr. MURDOCK in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: What is the program for this morning, Senator Roebuck?

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Chairman, we are to hear this morning from the Canadian National Committee on Refugees and from Mr. Herbert Marshall, the Dominion Statistician. The Committee on Refugees is represented by Mr. B. K. Sandwell, whom you all know as Editor of *Saturday Night*, and Miss Constance Hayward, Executive Secretary of the Committee, whom I know of old as well informed on this matter of immigration and social matters generally. I was going to suggest that we might allot one hour each to Mr. Sandwell and Mr. Marshall, but I understand Mr. Sandwell will not mind staying longer than an hour if necessary, in order to answer questions. I presume Mr. Sandwell will speak first.

Mr. SANDWELL: I understand Senator Wilson wishes to speak.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I apologize for not being aware of that.

Hon. Cairine Wilson: Mr. Chairman, as Chairman of the Canadian National Committee on Refugees, it is my privilege to introduce Mr. Sandwell to this Committee. Before doing so, though, I should like to give a brief résumé of the history of the Canadian National Committee on Refugees.

The Canadian National Committee on Refugees was formed in the autumn of 1938, for it was realized that due to the Munich agreement many thousands who had lived in that part of Czechoslovakia ceded to Germany would be driven from their homes, while thousands more, opponents of Nazism, would be subject to persecution, concentration camps and even death. Members of the Committee were confident that many of these people would be very valuable to Canada, and in this way we might show our sympathy and support of democratic principles and aid those who were suffering for their religion, their political faith or their race.

Prior to 1931, Canada had welcomed newcomers to her shores, but with the depression came the haunting fear that people from other lands might deprive Canadians of their means of livelihood. An Order in Council was then passed which practically closed the door to immigrants from continental Europe, for according to it only three classes are eligible for admission to Canada:—

1. First degree relatives of persons already in Canada
2. Bona-fide agricultural settlers
3. Persons possessing substantial capital

However, a few exceptions have been made for those who had very special qualifications.

We felt that a study of the question would show that it was largely through the admission of refugees over a period of hundreds of years that Great Britain had achieved her greatness, and that to them much of her supremacy in certain fields was due. Since the rise of Hitlerism in Germany, new types of industries had been established by the refugees in certain of the depressed areas where residents of those localities, previously unemployed, had found work.

The Canadian National Committee on Refugees is a private organization financed by voluntary contributions. Although we have not been successful in bringing large numbers of victims of Nazism and Fascism to Canada, yet during nearly eight years we have acquired an understanding of the people who have suffered by reason of race, political beliefs or religion, and are more than ever convinced that we should not only be assisting those worthy of help, but that our country would benefit.

The Committee has been supported by national organizations particularly by the Board of Evangelism and Social Service of the United Church, Council for Social Service of the Church of England in Canada, National Council of Women, the Y.W.C.A. and others.

We have had support also of numerous church groups and local organizations. When the Committee in 1945 circulated a petition for admission of refugees, who it would then be possible to bring to Canada, we received widespread support. This petition was signed by more than 130,000 individuals as well as by labour officials representing 65,000 members.

I might say that there was no real campaign of publicity with regard to that petition.

Our educational work includes publication of "Beginning Anew" which is used by many organizations and study groups.

Last week many Canadians were grieved to learn of the very sudden death in Belgium of J. Duncan Cameron, who had been serving as European colonization manager of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. Mr. Cameron had a great understanding of the important matter of immigration and was particularly interested and sympathetic with the refugee. I should like to quote a few paragraphs from a letter written by Mr. Cameron and bearing date London, June 25, 1946:—

I know that my refugee friends are grateful for whatever I was able to do for them when they were getting started in Canada. New immigrants are like plants uprooted, and the work of the conscientious settlement officer is like that of the gardener who sets his drooping plants in mellow soil, sees that they get mild sun and gentle rain until their roots take hold anew.

Many of my Czech friends, now proud of their Canadian citizenship, are going home to reclaim their properties, realize what they can, and return to Canada. How they love their new homes with us; how greatly they welcome happiness for their parents and children in a land of comparatively wholesome political attitudes. It is encouraging to have them drop in for a visit and it is evident that they have forgotten the difficulties of their early days and are filled with anticipation for the future.

Canada is so deeply immersed in domestic concerns that she neither can nor will recognize the advantages she is letting pass by. At the present juncture she is pursuing a selfish and exclusive policy which in all the circumstances and under the most liberal interpretation is self-destructive and internationally dangerous. The expression that, where there is no vision the people perish, is in this respect appropriate.

I have made rather careful study of most of the Western European countries in the last six months. While their people are willing to concede us time for the adjustment of our post-war economy, they do not

understand why we make such a parade of it. As a matter of fact, they see quite clearly through the shallow and fictitious facade of our excuses to the real smugness and selfishness behind. Many of them say to me, "Oh, you don't want us in Canada, we are not good enough for you, we haven't enough money. You are pretty highbrow, aren't you?" And the humiliating thing about it is that they are right.

Now, seeing I have started on this subject, perhaps you will allow me to analyze it a little further. We have not had in Canada for 25 years or more any substantial, coherent consistency of opinion on immigration. Its adherents always have been and still are scattered, isolated and impotent. They are vocal enough each in his own way, but that is as far as they get.

On the other hand, those who hold contrary views are well organized. They are able to direct their efforts to a substantial target. No matter how fallacious their opinions are, they carry weight because there is the weight of concentrated and directed opinion behind them.

Many, who are able to speak from personal knowledge, testify to the fine types of people in the camps for displaced persons, and I should like to quote a statement sent to me by Mr. George Mooney:

316 The Boulevard,
Beaconsfield, Que.,

July 29, 1946.

In my capacity as Executive Secretary and Chief Executive Officer of UNRRA's European Administrative Council, it was my duty to visit UNRRA's Displaced Persons' Camps in Germany and Austria during the late Fall of 1945. I spent several weeks going from camp to camp and altogether visited fifty-one. In most, if not all of these camps, the percentage of Jewish Displaced Persons was at least fifty per cent. I talked with many and had ample opportunity to appraise their general outlook and mode of living. Like all Displaced Persons they were of varying age and vocational background. Likewise, they were of varying cultural and educational status.

I am satisfied that many of them are individuals who came from excellent family and home conditions before their unfortunate confinement in concentration camps. Many of them had distinguished themselves in their chosen careers and in the arts and sciences; some were from farm and peasant families. Their one and only crime, in Hitler's Germany, was that they were Jews.

It is my opinion that many of these people would make good citizens of Canada. And providing some responsible agency or individual is prepared to assume care of them for a reasonable period after their entry into the country, and to direct them to a means of livelihood, I believe that both the interests of humanity and the interests of Canada would, thereby, be saved. I believe a reasonable number of them should be permitted entry to Canada with a view to their becoming citizens.

(Signed) GEO. S. MOONEY.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Who is George S. Mooney?

Hon. Mrs. WILSON: He is the Executive Secretary and Chief Executive Officer of UNRRA's European Administrative Council.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Does your committee, Senator Wilson, bring in refugees or take care of them when they are here?

Hon. Mrs. WILSON: We were set up originally with the view of securing a more liberal policy with regard to refugees, but we have been devoting a good deal of attention to the supervision and care of those who have come in.

I propose now to read a few extracts from an article which appeared in the June issue of the *Zontian*, the official publication of Zonta International. I may say that Zonta is an organization for women similar to Rotary for men. The article was written by Dorothy Foote Tate. Here are a few extracts from her article:—

The past thirteen years have seen the largest scale displacement of peoples that the world has ever known. Millions of human beings have been uprooted and forced to flee from Nazi and Fascist oppression....

Estimates vary widely as to the actual numbers admitted, but, according to the best information obtainable, these are the countries of largest refugee immigration, listed in order of the numbers accepted: France (including North Africa), United States, Palestine, Great Britain, Latin America, Italy, East African Colonies, Switzerland, Sweden, Shanghai, Spain and Canada. The United States probably received the largest number of refugees on a permanent basis, though not to the extent that rumour has made almost universal belief....

The group as a whole, differed considerably from earlier immigrants. The refugee immigrants were not motivated by a desire for economic betterment as were many immigrants of the past, but rather by a desperate need to escape actual or anticipated persecution and death itself. A great majority of them were from the higher brackets intellectually and economically, they had had more education, were accomplished in the arts and sciences, and had been highly successful.

Hon. Mr. McDONALD (*Shediac*): How broad is that word "refugee"? Just what does it mean, anyone dispossessed in any manner, shape or form on account of language, character, religion or anything else?

Hon. Mrs. WILSON: As I read at the beginning, we were set up to aid chiefly the victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution. Most of those people for whom in 1938 we asked admission to Canada had stood in the forefront of opposition to Hitler, and were put in concentration camps because of that opposition.

Senator David asked about our interest in those who have come to Canada. I think perhaps you may hear a little more of this later, but amongst that group were some who had been at the public schools and universities of England. They were sent out rather indiscriminately at the time it was feared that Britain was going to be invaded. After much effort the committee procured permission for some of these students to go to the universities under Canadian sponsorship or if funds were available from friends outside of Canada. President Wallace, of Queen's, told me one day that the university had gained tremendously in every way from these students whom they had received. He said that not only academically were they outstanding as students, but in character and every other way. This telegram has come to me this morning from him and I should like to put it on record:—

Refugees carefully selected can make real contribution to cultural life of Canada and establish new industrial opportunities in specialized craft. Canada a favoured country should show an example to the world.

I am sure many present here know Madam Pawlica, who is the wife of the last representative of Poland in Canada, prior to the war. I had quite a touching letter from her yesterday. She has been dreadfully agitated about her mother's position since 1938. The letter is written from Almonte, Ontario. She says:—

I am taking this chance to tell you how wonderful it is to be with Mother here among flowers and trees and to try to bring her "back to life" after the most dreadful years of war!

She has been in two concentration camps and only by a miracle escaped death and amputation of a leg! It is hard to describe what tortures have been applied to those defenceless people.

Our dearest relatives and friends, 23 of them, have been killed in a dreadful manner, most awful injections have been given to some, who survive, boys of 25 look now like very old men. Mother has lost everything but her wonderful spirit is unusually young and she has hopes of a brighter future. She tells me that the parcels we sent from Lisbon, the U.S.A. and now from Canada, saved lots of lives, it is very satisfactory indeed.

The few refugees admitted to Canada have in a short time made such a splendid contribution to Canadian life in the cultural, scientific and industrial fields, as well as to the more widely publicized war effort that I trust Senators may be convinced that this Committee on Immigration and Labour should advocate the adoption of a more generous policy by our Government and bear in mind Mr. Cameron's quotation, "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

Mr. Sandwell, the Honorary Chairman of the Canadian National Committee on Refugees, is here to-day to present in greater detail the reasons why Canada should attempt a more generous policy towards them. He needs no introduction to any senator, and I am particularly grateful that he has come, at such sacrifice to himself, to speak to you to-day.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Senator, you enumerated three classes of refugees who were allowed into Canada: those with family connections, those who were agriculturists and those who had capital. Do you imply by that the people who have family connections, agricultural experience or capital were admitted?

Hon. Mrs. WILSON: Those were the only ones.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: But they were not all admitted?

Hon. Mrs. WILSON: No, even those were not all admitted; but they were the only ones admitted by order in council.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: I know of one man who wants to get into Canada just now; he makes soap and the answer is that there are lots of soap-makers in Canada.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Have you any figures establishing the number of refugees who have come here since the beginning of the war?

Hon. Mrs. WILSON: Miss Hayward will give those figures later. We have also a fairly satisfactory record of refugees in industry.

I have here a copy of a letter which has been addressed to the Prime Minister by the committee, and I should like to place it on the record.

The Right Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, C.M.G.
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa,

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER—The Canadian National Committee on Refugees wishes to express its pleasure at the announcement of the Government's decision to admit to Canada refugees in Europe who have relatives in this country. This will reunite a number of families after tragic separation and will provide homes for a few of the displaced persons in Europe. We should like at this time to request the Government's consideration of the larger problem of refugees and displaced persons and to urge for the admission to Canada of a substantial number. The general question of Canada's future immigration policy is now under review and doubtless some changes will be made at a later date. We wish to point out at this time that there is an important distinction between policy concerning refugees and displaced persons and that of

general immigration. The former is the urgent one. Immigrants may come to Canada because they are attracted to this country and they will be admitted because it seems advantageous to our national life. These factors are true also of displaced persons but there is the added consideration that they are homeless and, in many cases, stateless. These people are non-repatriable and must be settled in countries of immigration. Every day they wait in camp adds to the strain on their morale and increases the difficulty of restoring them to the normal life of useful citizens.

The Problem and Canada's Responsibility.

The plight of displaced persons is well known to you and the humanitarian problem need not again be stressed. The estimates of the Intergovernmental Committee put the total number of non-repatriable displaced persons at 750,000, but the indications are that this is a conservative figure. We have reason to believe that the total may be about one million persons. This group of people for whom the Intergovernmental Committee is responsible includes those who were political or racial refugees from Nazism before the war; nationals of dominated countries who were deported as slave labour; and others who, having fled from their own countries during or after the war, are unable to return for political reasons. The last mentioned group includes some 250,000 from the Baltic States, Latvians, Estonians and Lithuanians; 25,000 to 50,000 Yugoslavs; and the Polish army of 200,000. The first group covers the Germans and Austrians who suffered persecution for political and racial reasons. These people cannot possibly be resettled in their countries of origin. They have had six to twelve years of suffering and persecution. Their endurance was strengthened by faith in the democracies and hope that liberation would mean the opportunity to establish themselves in a new country. The slaughter of Jews has left a very small number in Europe. There are perhaps 100,000 in the three Western Zones, constituting a minority among the displaced persons to-day. Surely we have a special obligation to justify the faith of these anti-Nazis and we hope that a large proportion of them will be included in any admissions to Canada.

The problem of refugees and displaced persons is one of international politics and its solution is essential not only for reconstruction in Europe but for the general peace. Since V-E Day some six million refugees have been repatriated but the residue of displaced persons is the responsibility of the Intergovernmental Committee. The problem has also been acknowledged by the United Nations Organization in a Resolution adopted on February 12, 1946, directing the Economic and Social Council to make "thorough examination in all its aspects" of the refugee problem. We are glad that Canada was one of the twenty members states whose delegates met as a preparatory committee to report to the Social and Economic Council. In this and in the Intergovernmental Committee Canada has acknowledged her interest and responsibility. We are very happy to have your assurance, expressed in a letter to our Chairman, the Hon. Cairine R. Wilson, on May 6, that the Canadian Government will be prepared to bear its proper share of responsibility for solving the refugee problem.

Canada Should Accept a Substantial Number.

Interest in Canada's immigration policy has increased in the last few months. The speeches of prominent Canadians, the debates in the Senate and House of Commons, as well as the attention of the press,

show widespread interest and general agreement that the immigration policy should be revised. From many editorial comments in favour of selective immigration, we quote only from the Montreal *Gazette* of April 9, 1946, to the effect that "adherence to the present policy would appear to involve a discouraging contraction of Canada's future" and that "if a revised and freer immigration policy is to be adopted at all, now is the time to make plans to secure the best from among those who may be ready to come."

Quotations and reports of addresses attached to this letter show the favourable opinions of Hon. J. G. Gardiner, Hon. A. W. Roebuck, Hon. T. A. Crerar, Mr. Justice T. C. Davis, James Cardinal McGuigan, Mr. D. E. Kilgour, Mr. J. S. Duncan, and Mr. R. S. Waldie.

It is clear that there is general acceptance of the belief that Canada needs a larger population and that selective immigration is necessary to secure it. It would furthermore be correct, we believe, to conclude that there is public support for the belief that immigration would make possible the development of our natural resources; decrease per capita taxation; utilize our expanded productive capacity; increase home markets and lessen dependence upon external markets. It is also shown that Canada needs a larger population for defence purposes. Strongest of all in the view of Senator Crerar, which we support, is the moral obligation to share with the homeless of Europe our spaces, our wealth and our heritage.

Fear that immigration would cause unemployment used to be an obstacle to immigration but the fallacy of this reasoning is now recognized. In an article published in *Saturday Night*, March 25, 1944, Dr. R. H. Coats pointed out that statistical records show that periods of high immigration are also periods of rising wage levels. "The trend of wages, like that of prices and the cost of living, is contingent primarily upon the conditions of the economy as a whole, and will not suffer from immigration if the latter is economically sound." The resolutions of the Trades and Labour Congress and the Canadian Congress of Labour, quoted in Hansard April 3, show that labour is not opposed to admission of refugees. Furthermore C. M. Millard, National Director of the United Steel Workers of America, in an article written for *Beginning Anew* says:—

Some Canadians, even in the ranks of organized labour, might protest the importation of refugees or the acceptance of preferred immigration as long as there is any, or substantial, unemployment in this country. Such an attitude is understandable but it is nevertheless quite manifestly unsound.

It is quite possible that immigration will increase employment. Not only will an addition to the population immediately increase the demand for consumer goods, but the introduction of new skills and knowledge will make possible new lines of production and thereby increase the demand for labour. This point will be elaborated below where it will be shown that refugees, far from causing unemployment, have actually increased the number of jobs.

Admittedly, the problem of housing raises difficulties. Efforts would necessarily be made to settle refugees in communities other than those designated as congested areas. Refugees, however, would not cause the housing shortage; it already exists. If measures are being taken to cope with it, the slightly larger proportions would not render the situation unmanageable. It must be remembered, too, that living conditions here, however, difficult, will be as heaven compared to those now endured by the displaced persons in Europe.

Canada Has Been Enriched by Refugees

The refugees who have come to Canada since 1934 have greatly increased our national income. The tables attached, prepared in the Department of Trade and Commerce, give details of industries established in Canada between 1939 and 1942. In 1942, there were 56 industries, having a combined capital of \$18,703,664 which employed 4,887 persons and produced goods to the value of \$22,668,272.

A survey conducted by the War Time Information Board covers 45 refugee industries. These industries showed a total investment of \$7,-663,000. In 1943 their aggregate production amounted to \$35,556,500 worth of goods. These 45 industries employed 5,000 people of whom 87 per cent were Canadians.

An excerpt from the Toronto Industrial News Bulletin of November 30, 1945 reads as follows—

Seeking refuge in Canada, 15 companies from continental Europe established in Toronto since the beginning of the war. The production of these firms assisted materially in the war effort and will add to the peace-time economy. Many new techniques were introduced in the making of products never before manufactured in this country. A list of the products includes aircraft parts, biological products, canned foods, chemicals, cigarette lighters, curtain rails, diamond cutting and polishing, foundation garments, metal products, precision instruments, precision tools, plywood products, a unique type of seed cleaning, textiles and textile printing. The countries represented were Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Holland, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. Combined, these companies occupied 200,000 square feet of floor space at the end of last year, over 1,000 persons were employed and \$670,000 was invested in plants and equipment.

The *Financial Post* of March 9, 1946 carried an article on plywood industry in which it pointed out that plywood production from high-grade fir was put on a mass production basis by two groups of Czechoslovakian engineers. They were the first to develop drying processes which made hemlock and cottonwood supplies for plywood purposes. They also made discoveries in the field of resin bonds which added greatly to this industrial usefulness. The Mosquito bomber was perhaps the most spectacular war-time plywood product and, now that this need has been removed, new uses and applications for plywood are being developed. One of these is prefabricated housing.

These statements show that refugees have brought capital and have established important new industries in Canada. Some of them produce entirely new products and some are producing goods which were formerly imported. Several of the new lines of production were possible because of the admission of skilled workers and they are training Canadians in new skills. For instance, Canadian veterans are learning the highly specialized skill of diamond cutting. These gains, are, we submit, more valuable than the importation of capital. The refugees in Europe may not be able to bring capital but this does not mean that they cannot establish themselves here or that their coming will not be definitely advantageous to this country. It is sufficient to cite one case out of many. A man who came in April, 1944, with fifty dollars, set up a small toy business which has grown rapidly. In the year 1945 he paid more than \$11,000 to Canadian workmen.

Help in Establishment

It must be recognized that the displaced persons will be unable to bring capital with them. Assistance from public funds will be essential to the carrying out of our moral obligations and would be, we believe, a good investment. The Canadian National Committee on Refugees noted that Canada's contribution to UNRRA, of which a substantial part was spent in Canada for supplies, met with public favour. On the same basis we should like to suggest that the Canadian Government make a generous contribution to the operational expenses of the Intergovernmental Committee on the understanding that this money be used to settle displaced persons as immigrants in Canada.

Suggestions On Policy.

As a conclusion to the foregoing statements of fact and of our strong convictions, the Canadian National Committee on Refugees makes the following requests:—

1. That Canada should state her policy on displaced persons immediately without waiting for decisions of the United Nations.
Australia has already made known her intention to take 70,000 immigrants annually. Great Britain, having accepted 150,000 to 200,000 before the end of the war, announced in the latter part of 1945 that relatives and concentration camp survivors would be admitted. The U.S.A. having taken about 250,000, has re-opened quotas to provide for displaced persons of several nationalities and will admit a total of 39,000 a year.
2. That the important distinction be recognized between immigration policy and policy concerning refugees and displaced persons.
3. That the movement of displaced persons be regarded as more urgent and that priority in admission be given to displaced persons over general immigration from European countries.
4. That displaced persons represent diversity of nationalities and religions and also diversity in professions and skills. Admission should not be confined to farmers and first-degree relatives.
5. That immigration officers be sent immediately to the distress areas, particularly into the Displaced Persons Camps.
6. That, wherever possible, use be made of Portuguese, Swedish and other lines for transportation.
7. That the personnel of the Immigration Department be increased.
8. That the Government establish an inter-departmental committee for direction of establishment of immigrants and their assimilation.

It is suggested that this committee might include representatives from the Departments of Immigration, Naturalization and Citizenship, Labour, and Health and Welfare. Unofficially a representative of the Canadian National Committee on Refugees might render assistance.

It is generally agreed that we have made insufficient efforts to help the immigrant and to educate him in Canadian citizenship, yet the importance of this work is obvious. This Committee has dealt with a relatively small number of people but it has maintained connections and has endeavoured to assist refugees from their arrival to their naturalization.

We earnestly request prompt action by the Government in this urgent matter.

Very sincerely yours,

B. K. SANDWELL,
Honorary Chairman.
CAIRINE R. WILSON
Chairman.

These are the extracts which were attached to the letter:—

Hon. J. G. Gardiner, as reported in *Weyburn Review*, February 28, 1946:—

True prosperity in Western Canada could only be attained if some five or six million people were brought here to eat the food this country produced instead of shipping it overseas to them. Only when we have a population in this country equal to Europe will we be able to have proper development of our resources.

On April 4, in the Senate, the Hon. A. W. Roebuck, in moving that the standing committee on immigration and labour be authorized and directed to examine into the Immigration Act, and to report its findings, stressed Canada's small population in relation to its land area and particularly in relation to its potential industrial development. He reminded the Hon. Senators that our 3,500,000 square miles of territory with its 12,000,000 people exceed by 50 per cent the area of Continental Europe which supports a population of 400,000,000 people. He said that if we continuously refused to develop our material resources others will develop them for us.

The opinions of the Hon. T. A. Crerar carry added weight because of his experience as Minister of Mines and Resources. His speech in the Senate on May 8 strongly favoured immigration for two reasons. He said that on materialistic grounds it would be good business for Canada again to adopt a vigorous immigration policy. His second reason he described as a moral one and the more important. Even though he recognized that all of Canada's vast area may not be suitable for population, he nevertheless stressed our agricultural, mineral, timber and fish resources. "I do not think that we are justified in sitting on top of all these resources and taking the attitude that we will keep them to ourselves and share them with no one. Such a policy will in the end bring disaster." The Hon. Senator pointed out the effect on the immigration to Canada from 1889 to the outbreak of the first great war, showing that during that period Canada made greater progress in the accumulation of wealth and the development of industry than in any other previous time in her history. This, he said, was because the immigrants, though in general having little capital, worked steadily and were continually producing new wealth. Mr. Crerar referred to the German refugees, the Sudetens, who have made good progress at Tupper Creek, and to the Polish army. "So", he said, "the problem is not one of finding immigrants. As a matter of fact, if this country adopted what I would consider a sound policy in regard to the resumption of immigration, we could have relatively millions of the best people in Europe come to this country. If we do that, I submit, we shall be making a contribution that will be increasingly recognized in the years to come, for it will augment the productive power and strength of this country and its capacity to carry its financial burden. In addition to that we shall be doing a fine generous Christian act in endeavouring to make some contribution towards relieving the terrible plight of the homeless millions in Europe."

Mr. Justice T. C. Davis, retiring Canada High Commissioner to Australia, reported in *Toronto Star*, May 13, 1946, said in Sydney, Australia:—"that Canada and Australia both need more population for self-protection."

James Cardinal McGuigan, addressing the Canadian Club of Toronto, reported in London *Evening Press*, April 30, 1946, said, "that Canada should adopt a generous and hospitable attitude to Europeans wishing to emigrate to this country."

Mr. D. E. Kilgour, President and Managing Director of the North American Life Insurance Company, at the annual meeting of the Bank of Canada, said, "Canada will better support its vastly increased debt if we can attract enterprising, industrious immigrants who will not only share what this country has to give but help in bearing the obligations which it has already assumed. We must face the situation frankly that to hold the position we have attained during the war, to utilize our greatly expanded productive capacity, to develop our ample spaces and our wealth of national resources and meet our tremendous national commitments, we must attract to this country additional population. In so doing we will achieve a still greater national production, a more closely knit population making for the more economical use of what we have, and a broader base on which to rest our postwar tax structure."

Mr. J. S. Duncan, President of the Massey-Harris Co. Ltd., speaking to the Rotary Club of Montreal, on Dec. 4, 1945, said, "Never was there a time since Canada was first settled which has been more favourable to selective immigration than at present. I advocate immigration because notwithstanding the measure which should, and no doubt will be taken to expand our export trade, it is not going to be easy for us in this impoverished world to find an outlet for our products in sufficient volume to maintain the national income which we consider essential.

An intelligently planned immigration policy would help to sustain Canada's economic position, it would provide a greater home market, which in turn would enable us to consume right here in Canada more of the things which we grow or manufacture, and because our needs would be greater, we would be able to import more from our foreign customers."

In an address to the Seventy-first annual meeting of the Imperial Bank of Canada, the president, Mr. R. S. Waldie said, (even with these expedients) "it remains doubtful whether the level of exports necessary for full employment can be reached. As a means of preventing our income from dropping too far we should encourage immigration and capital imports. It should be noted that the reduction of the general overhead expenses of our economy depends, to a large measure, on an increase in the density of our population which lessens especially the transportation and administration charges per unit of production. It is frequently said that the influx of people aggravates unemployment. Surely the contrary is true. Immigration creates a need for a general expansion of capital assets and acts as a stimulus to the consumption good industries".

REFUGEE INDUSTRIES ESTABLISHED IN CANADA

	1942						
	Establishments	Capital	Employees	Salaries and wages	Cost of fuel and electricity	Cost of materials	Gross value of products
No.	\$	No.	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
Canada (Industrial Groups)							
Animal Products.....	5	2,570,036	667	665,115	28,490	3,496,276	4,658,560
Textiles and Textile Products.....	22	3,596,147	1,408	1,544,644	117,046	2,401,764	5,652,516
Wood and Paper Products.....	9	3,927,799	1,210	1,597,350	34,124	2,591,361	5,733,470
Iron and its Products.....	5	3,188,464	1,029	1,698,367	23,517	698,902	3,226,198
Non-Metallic Mineral Products.....	4	924,098	253	335,366	129,182	242,542	874,384
Chemicals and Allied Products.....	4	185,845	29	30,405	1,964	103,293	139,154
Miscellaneous Products.....	4	204,044	68	63,346	1,848	77,273	136,165
Vegetable Products.....	2						
Non-ferrous Metal Products.....	1	4,107,231	223	310,174	108,858	1,403,963	2,247,825
TOTAL.....	56	18,703,664	4,887	6,244,767	445,029	11,015,374	22,668,272
Textile and Textile Products Canada							
Flax Fibre.....	3	630,233	248	228,238	8,970	483,430
Hosiery and Knitted Goods.....	4	188,282	62	65,914	1,133	123,620	251,876
Woolen Cloth.....	3	1,096,174	402	532,693	50,561	1,194,049	2,351,020
Woollen Yarn and Miscellaneous.....	3	755,716	242	273,164	40,587	231,944	876,430
Other Primary Textile ¹	5	412,173	176	179,841	11,398	322,045	667,800
Other Secondary (Clothing) Textiles ²	4	513,569	278	264,794	4,397	530,106	1,021,960
TOTAL.....	22	3,596,147	1,408	1,544,644	117,046	2,401,764	5,652,516

¹Includes—Cotton thread, 1; cotton yarn and cloth, 1; dyeing and finishing of textiles, 1; narrow fabrics, 1; silk and silk goods, artificial and real, 1.

²Includes—Clothing, men's factory, 2; clothing, women's factory, 1; corsets, 1.

Mr. B. K. Sandwell, LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.C.:

Mr. Chairman, I feel very inadequate in attempting this task. I am only a humble journalist and cannot add very much in the way of prestige and authority to the representations made to this committee. May I say that my predecessor as Honorary Chairman of the committee was Sir Robert Falconer, who remained in that office up to the last hours of his life. He was deeply interested in it during the latter years of his life; in fact, he had no greater interest than the work of this committee, and were he alive he would certainly be here to-day to do the job which I am supposed to do, and do it in a much more effective manner.

We are aware, Mr. Chairman, that the main concern of this honourable committee is with the general problem of so controlling immigration as to make it conduce to the greatest possible economic and practical advantage of Canada. You have been asked by previous witnesses, with a few exceptions, to consider the advantage or disadvantage which may be expected to accrue to Canada from the admission of immigrants of certain kinds in certain numbers and in certain ways. But the considerations to which the Canadian National Committee on Refugees asks your attention are of an entirely different sort. We ask you to consider, not primarily the advantage or disadvantage to Canada of the course of action we suggest, but the moral obligation which rests upon Canada to take that course of action. We are asking you to go back in thought to the state of mind of our ancestors of fifty and eighty and a hundred years ago, men and women to whom the flag which floated over them was a symbol of the right

of sanctuary which it offered to the victims of tyranny and inequality in any other part of the world. They, as their powers of self-government steadily increased, never questioned the obligation to admit those who were fleeing from oppression elsewhere. They raised no bars against the fugitives from legal enslavement in the Southern States, from military enslavement in many European countries, from political and economic enslavement anywhere in the world. Perhaps they had not forgotten how many of their own ancestors, and indeed of themselves, had in their time been similar fugitives from similar oppressions, and how much Great Britain and France, the nations from which they drew their political and religious concepts, had owed to successive bodies of refugees seeking shelter in their midst.

The obligation to grant sanctuary is not, and never was, unlimited. The nation has the right to protect itself against excessive influx of population, against disease, against ethical and political ideologies hostile to its own. But the obligation to grant sanctuary still exists, the need for sanctuary is greater than ever before in history, and the nation which ignores this obligation will suffer as all nations ultimately do which ignore the fundamental moral obligation, the debt which man and nations owe to the human being at their gates simply because he is a human being.

The refugee problem is not a temporary problem, and the principles involved in it are not temporary principles. Even if it were true that since the defeat of Germany, Italy and Japan there are no intolerant governments anywhere in the world, which it unfortunately is not, there would still be a great number of persons in the world who are refugees because of the actions of intolerant governments which have ceased to exist. Many of the persons driven into exile, or dispossessed and imprisoned, by the governments which have since been overthrown are just as much refugees as if those governments were still in existence. The succession governments cannot possibly put them back where they were. This fact, and the fact that new refugees are constantly being created by new political conditions, are expressly recognized by the Special Committee of the United Nations on Refugees and Displaced Persons, and a permanent definition of the term "refugee" is suggested which should greatly facilitate international co-operation in dealing with the problem.

The moral obligations which rest upon a nation are not, however, completely fulfilled by merely referring them to international co-operation. Canada can and should do much about this problem. Whether international co-operation does or does not achieve anything; indeed if countries like Canada, with a population small in proportion to natural resources, do not show a readiness to do a good deal about it on their own responsibility there is not much hope of international co-operation doing anything about it at all. It is a problem entirely distinct from all the other immigration problems which your committee has to consider because of this element of moral obligation to human beings merely as human beings. Nevertheless the movement of a human being from one jurisdiction to another, for whatever reasons it may take place, is "immigration" for the country which receives, and if the general laws relating to immigration are restrictive—as is almost universally the case to-day—the moral problem of the refugee cannot be adequately dealt with without the establishment of generous exceptions in favour of persons who come within the accepted definition. For example, it is not unfair to say that most of the refugees who found sanctuary in Canada between 1933 and 1939 did so because they had money and not because they were refugees, and that thousands of persons who could have found sanctuary here if they had had money are to-day dead or broken because they had none. The possession of a certain sum of money may or may not be a proper criterion for the admission of an ordinary immigrant; but few people will claim, in cold blood and upon serious consideration, that it is a proper criterion for the admission of a fugitive from atrocious tyranny.

There has been hitherto, however, no general exception from the ordinary restrictions in favour of refugees as such.

The Canadian National Committee on Refugees therefore asks this committee of the Senate to recommend that in any future legislation on immigration there shall be special provisions whereby persons falling under the definition of "refugee" as established by the International Refugee Organization of the United Nations shall be exempted from the ordinary restrictions on immigration into Canada, and shall be subject only to whatever special restrictions may be considered by Parliament to be necessary and justifiable in face of the moral claim of the refugees to the right of sanctuary. We urge further that action to this end should be taken at the earliest possible date, without waiting for collective action by all the nations of the United Nations, or even of those only which are members of the Special Committee.

If, as we contend, there is a moral obligation resting upon Canada in regard to refugees, that obligation cannot be contingent solely upon the acceptance and fulfilment of the same obligation by fifty or even twenty other nations. It is not an obligation arising, like those of the United Nations Charter, out of our agreement with the other nations involved; it exists now, before there is any agreement, and it exists in virtue of a moral principle and not of any bargain of giving and taking. By showing at the earliest possible date that we recognize it and desire to fulfil it, Canada will achieve two most important results. She will set an example which will make it much easier for other governments to take similar action; and she will send out a ray of hope into the miserable camps and settlements in which the refugees are still awaiting their fate, a ray which may do much to check the rapid breakdown of morale and deterioration of nervous fibre which all observers agree is going on among them.

May I attempt to picture very briefly the position that these unfortunates are in? Being unable to return to their old homes—that is the first and most essential point in the definition of a refugee—they have literally nowhere to go; yet they cannot stay where they are and live the life of an ordinary free, self-sustaining, striving, ambitioning human being. Life they have, but liberty and the pursuit of happiness are denied them until they can find permanent sanctuary and build their lives afresh. They are as it were imprisoned in a great, dark, airless room which has fifty different doors, the doors of admission to fifty different countries where they could build their lives afresh; but every door is locked, barred and bolted, and no sound of a key being inserted, of a bolt being shot back, has yet been heard in the great room from the other side of any single door, and it is over a year since the war in Europe ended. One of these doors is the door to Canada. It is true that if that door were opened even to the full width that a full sense of human obligation could suggest, it would still let out only a fraction of those imprisoned in the great room; but the opening of one door would be a lively promise of the opening of others, since no nation likes to be too far behind others in the practice of humanity. It is in our power to let into that room the light and air which will change it from a dungeon into a place of hope and good cheer.

I have been talking in figures of speech, but these figures do not in any way distort the true picture of the refugee problem, either as to its character or its immediate urgency. It is true that transportation bottlenecks would probably make the actual transfer of refugees to Canada a slow process. It is not the actual transfer that is urgently needed now; it is the knowledge by the refugees that when the transfer becomes physically possible it will be legally possible. They have endured years of waiting already, years that began in hope and have come even closer to despair; they can endure another year or two if their hope is renewed by adequate assurances.

Canada was a member of the Special Committee and of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, and will undoubtedly be a member of the

proposed International Refugee Organization, an agency to be set up under the Economic and Social Council. The new organization will be concerned only with refugees and displaced persons as defined by the Special Committee, and the definition expressly excludes all war criminals, Quislings and traitors, ordinary criminals and persons who since the war have sought to overthrow by force the government of their home country, being a member of the United Nations. No nation, when this organization is functioning, will be obligated to recognize as a refugee any person who cannot satisfy the organization that he comes under the definition, a fact which should remove any fear that enemies of liberty and democracy or persons with criminal records will be entitled to claim sanctuary. The total number of persons in the entire world who will come under the new organization is estimated as 1,678,000, but an unknown but possibly large number of these are still capable of repatriation. If we assume the ultimate number of unrepatriatables as one million, it would seem that Canada's reasonable share of that number ought not to be large enough to cause any fear of the country being swamped by too great and too rapid immigration.

The Canadian National Committee on Refugees has already communicated to the Prime Minister, and now desires to express to your Committee, its strong conviction that:—

(1) the distinction between immigration policy and refugee policy be adequately recognized;

(2) the policy of Canada on refugees and displaced persons should be stated and made effective immediately, without waiting for decisions of the United Nations;

(3) the movement of displaced persons be given priority over that of general immigration; and

(4) that admission of displaced persons should not be confined to particular economic classes nor to relatives of persons already in Canada, but should embrace a diversity of nationalities and religions as well as of occupations and skills. There should obviously be no insistence, in the case of any genuine refugee, on the possession of a particular sum of money, since that would in itself debar the vast majority of the present refugees and establish a precedent which, if followed by other nations, would render their position utterly hopeless.

I have already suggested that Canada should adopt the definition of refugees formulated by the Special Committee, of which she was a member. This does not confine the term to refugees from Nazi or Fascist tyranny. It includes every person who is outside of his country of nationality and who, as a result of events subsequent to the outbreak of the second world war, is unable or unwilling to avail himself of that country's protection. It thus covers persons from the former Baltic States and elsewhere who cannot return because of their record of opposition to the Communist theory of government, and any other persons persecuted for their political opinions, provided only that those opinions are not in conflict with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

Any honest fulfilment of Canada's obligations towards refugees must obviously include the removal of all obstacles, arising out of our own legislation or administration, which makes it impossible for such persons to avail themselves of the opportunities which Canada purports to offer. For example, it is useless to tell a person detained in a camp, or unable to cross an intervening country without a permit to enter Canada, that he may enter Canada if he can pass an examination by officials stationed in London or Paris or Antwerp. Opportunity for examination must be provided at periodic intervals at some place to which the refugee has access. The examination should not lay too much stress on perfect health of the nervous system of the refugee; very few of us would have our nerves in perfect health if we had undergone what most of these persons have undergone.

All of these administrative arrangements and legislative changes should we urge, precede and not await the disappearance of the shipping bottleneck which at present prevents the actual transfer of any considerable number of refugees. Not only shall we then be able to take advantage of shipping as fast as it becomes available, but we shall have given to the accepted refugees a definite assurance about their future which will change the whole character of their outlook. It is our hope that by that time the Canadian Government will feel able to take some steps towards providing some shipping to aid in the actual transfer.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That is a most interesting statement.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Mr. Sandwell, do you consider a refugee a temporary absentee from his country or a permanent one?

Mr. SANDWELL: Permanent, sir.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: During the French Revolution a large number of French noblemen went to England for refuge but returned to France after the revolution. We have a more recent example in this country. The Bata people came here from Czechoslovakia and opened a shoe factory, bringing with them 72 experts, of whom 40 have already gone back to Czechoslovakia, and the newspapers say that 50 per cent of the remaining 32 want to go back.

Mr. SANDWELL: As to those who are now refugees and displaced persons, I think it can be said there is not much danger of their desiring to go back. The people to whom you refer left Czechoslovakia at a time when its government was of a very different character from the present government. In any case, unless Canada has spent a good deal of money to get refugees over here—and we are not suggesting that this be done—it does not seem to be a very serious matter if some of them should desire eventually to go back home. I should not suggest that they be detained in Canada.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: It seems to me the distinction between a refugee and an immigrant is this: a refugee is a man who leaves his country in time of revolution, or to escape persecution, or for some other reason, and who feels it his duty to go back when calm is re-established; but an immigrant is one who leaves his country because he is unsatisfied and wants to try his luck in another country.

Mr. SANDWELL: I do not think, sir, that many of the people whom we now have in mind will come to Canada with any idea of leaving it again in the near future.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Then they would become immigrants?

Mr. SANDWELL: Yes, definitely.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: A person might be both a refugee and an immigrant.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: He might be a refugee from his own country to another country, but when coming to Canada he might become an immigrant.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Yes.

I should like to ask you, Mr. Sandwell, about a point which I probably did not understand clearly. You suggested, I think, that refugees whom we admit should not be confined to those who have relatives in Canada. Would you not consider that was a qualification for being an immigrant, that a person had relatives in Canada.

Mr. SANDWELL: Oh, very decidedly; but we do not want it to be made an absolute requirement. Very definitely it is a qualification.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: We should extend to people in Canada the right to bring their refugee relatives to Canada and to look after them when they get here?

Hon. Mr. McDONALD: Those people should have a slight preference.

Mr. SANDWELL: That I think should be one of the qualifications.

The CHAIRMAN: Are there any further questions? If not, I will call upon Miss Hayward.

Miss Constance Hayward, Executive Secretary, Canadian National Committee on Refugees:

Mr. Chairman and honourable senators, as Senator Wilson explained, our Committee was organized in 1938. That means that we have nearly eight years of experience in working with and assisting refugees. I think that though they were a relatively small group we have provided a laboratory experiment and that our work with those people justifies our drawing certain conclusions. We have tried, by providing information on the refugee subject to the public and by making representations to the government, to secure the admission of a larger number of refugees than would otherwise have been the case. We have also worked to secure individual permits, but we have never considered that our task was completed at that point. We have been in touch with and had very friendly communication with refugees from the time of their arrival to at least the time of their naturalization. Nor have we confined our interest to those individuals for whom we may have been responsible for securing admissions. Any refugee in need and wanting help has found it to the limit of our capacity in the Canadian National Committee on Refugees. That help, as you can well understand, is often of a personal kind, and moral and psychological rather than financial. I should say that a very small proportion of the people whom we have helped have needed financial support, but there have been some, and that help has been given on the basis of the voluntary contributions that we have received. The two classes who have needed the greatest amounts in financial assistance have been hospital cases—there is no doubt that in one case the life of a woman was saved—and professional people who desired to become established in their lines here. In the medical and dental professions it is necessary for a man to take an examination before he can secure a licence in this country, and that is quite proper. In some cases there is a requirement that a year be spent at university. That is done quite willingly by the refugee, but it does entail some financial expense, and our Committee has assisted some refugees in that way.

I wanted to refer to one group who were brought in just after the petition to which Senator Wilson referred, a group of twenty-one families and three single men, for whom guarantees were given by this Committee on Refugees. Those people have done exceedingly well and were practically self-supporting within a year. Having come from Spain or Portugal, they were not allowed to bring in more than \$50 apiece. Those twenty-one families and three single men have now been settled on about \$20,000, which includes establishing two doctors, with the necessary expenses that I have suggested in getting a licence.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Miss Hayward, do you mind if we interrupt?

Miss HAYWARD: Not at all.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: You said that twenty-one families and three single men came here as refugees but that they were not allowed to bring with them more than \$50 apiece?

Miss HAYWARD: That was not a Canadian regulation; it was what they were restricted to bringing from Europe. I should have said that this group came in April, 1944, when Spain and Portugal were the last outposts of Europe in which people could wait. People who had waited for years, including a good many men who had been in the French army and had fought against the Nazis had to walk over the Pyrenees in the hours just after the second part of France was taken, and they were not allowed to bring much currency. It was on the special request of the Committee on Refugees, accompanied by a promise to assist this small group, that the government brought in the group.

I think we know whereof we speak when we say that those refugees, not only the group from Lisbon but those who were brought here before the war, make good citizens. They are people who suffered for their opinions and their convictions. They were anti-Nazis before the war, and they value liberty because they know what it means to lose it. From our contacts with them we can say that they assimilate quickly, and apply for naturalization as soon as they are eligible.

Hon. Mr. MOLLOY: In the eight years that your committee has been functioning how many refugees have been brought into Canada under your auspices?

Miss HAYWARD: It is very difficult for us to give statistics.

Hon. Mr. MOLLOY: Just approximately.

Miss HAYWARD: In the first place, the Department of Immigration does not list statistics of refugees, but I think the number can be estimated. We have worked on a general policy of assisting groups; for instance, the thousand men who came from England. Our committee did not secure each individual permit. We asked for the admission of this group of four hundred and fifty from Lisbon.

Hon. Mr. MOLLOY: But in those cases you assisted the refugees?

Miss HAYWARD: Yes, we assisted them; and in a number of cases we secured individual permits, which it is impossible to count.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: How many children came from England?

Miss HAYWARD: There has been no movement of refugee children. The refugees have been, as you suggested, admitted as immigrants, and they were either families or, in the case of those thousand I mentioned from England, single men. The children, with the exception of two who went to British Columbia, came after a great deal of effort.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: You mentioned the case of the Bata experts a moment ago. Were those experts admitted to Canada as immigrants and not as refugees?

Miss HAYWARD: I do not think any refugee was admitted except as an immigrant either on a permanent or temporary status.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Would you consider anyone being here on a temporary permit as an immigrant?

Miss HAYWARD: Well, if a man comes in on a temporary permit there is the alternative that he must apply for admission to stay permanently. Therefore he has the choice of refraining from applying. Most of the people who have come here on temporary permits have applied for permanent status, and gradually they have been getting it.

There is another point in connection with the material contribution of the refugees who have come, which I might mention, but I do not mean to stress those who have brought large amounts of capital and started new industries. The letter which we have tabled here with our submission has a list of figures prepared in the Department of Trade and Commerce. This shows that in 1942 some fifty-six industries which were established by refugees represented a capital of something over \$18,000,000 and were employing nearly five thousand people, and produced that year goods to the value of over \$22,000,000. I think the story of the large industries is well known. I think, too, the story of immigrant technicians and engineers and the value of their work in our war production is well known. Less is known about the smaller industries scattered across the country, in many cases using local resources and providing employment for local people. I would suggest that a number of these small industries are of as much value to the country as a whole as a \$1,000,000 industry. Even less is known probably, except to the few who are particularly interested, of the arts and crafts

of those people who have come here, and I shall take to mention just one. A Czechoslovakian, who came here just before the war broke out—to escape from the Nazis, I may say—has utilized clay, which Canadians regarded as useless, to make pottery.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Is that the one manufacturing at St. Jerome?

Miss HAYWARD: No; that is a firm really manufacturing. This is an artist. I suggest it particularly because this is one of the smaller projects; the one at St. Jerome is providing employment for Canadians.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: And the whole product is taken by a large concern in Montreal. The firm cannot turn out enough to meet the demand.

Miss HAYWARD: That is the case with most of our industries: they cannot supply the orders. This man has also treated Canadian minerals and produced new glazes and given us colours that we have not had before. This man is not providing employment for Canadians; every piece is moulded by hand. I have been in his studio when he threw out a whole kiln because the product was not perfect. His work is sought by tourists—if one is considering commercial value—and by connoisseurs. He is developing something new in Canadian art. I do not think there is one design of the type he made in Czechoslovakia; he is taking his ideas from Canada.

There is another possibility in that line which is suggested to me by an article in last week's *Saturday Night*, pointing out that there are only ten persons in Canada drawing their income from their handiwork in pottery. This article goes on to show the need for better teaching. There are any number of Canadians studying and working, but it is half a hobby with them and they are not well trained, particularly in design. This man was a teacher of ceramic design in a college in Czechoslovakia.

If I may go back for a moment to the group from Lisbon, I wish to mention two business developed by those people, although they were not able to bring capital with them. One, a man who fought with the French Army and afterwards made his living for a time in France by making wooden toys, started here in the spring of 1944. He made a few samples and got orders, but he had no capital, and he would never have been able to go ahead but for the help of friends, who provided him with \$200, which enabled him to get a saw and a little wood. In 1945 he paid over \$11,000 in wages to his Canadian workmen. There is another one who cannot supply his orders, and he is receiving orders not only from Canada but from the United States and South America.

The third man I want to mention is a Yugoslavian lawyer, and I refer to him because of all the people to be settled lawyers present a difficulty: they cannot use their specialized knowledge.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: They are a helpless crew, anyway!

Miss HAYWARD: I would not say that. This man certainly was not helpless. He put together the first pieces of his machinery. He said it was almost junk that he bought, but he made it into machinery with which he started to clean fruit and vegetables. He did that because after consultation with officials of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board and certain business interests he found there was a need for this work. The law requires that all fruit be cleaned before it goes to the wholesale grocers. That man, to the best of my knowledge, is the first one in Ontario who has dry-cleaned prunes. Not only has he got to the point where he could buy more machinery and the business has grown, but he has introduced a new process of cleaning fruit and vegetables with air pressure instead of washing. It is estimated that last year the imported food which he saved by cleaning, and which would otherwise have been discarded, was valued at over \$100,000.

One could go on and go on with similar recitals. Every story we have is a story of initiative and energy, a story of adaptation to Canadian needs, and they prove that we are the losers if our policy is to restrict the classification of

immigrants to agriculturists only. Our suggestion is that the classification of people admissible should be much wider than that, and in respect of the refugees, as Mr. Sandwell has suggested, I believe we should be prepared to take a great diversity of occupations and skills as well as of nationalities.

I should like to add that I think our policy and the regulations under it should not be made too rigid. By doing so, by specifying certain occupations and trades which we will take, we are losing people of special talent, people for whom it is pretty difficult to prescribe in advance. We should leave a little leeway for imagination, so we may get talent and perhaps genius, whose current is unpredictable. I am thinking that our policy is not designed to get the Einsteins, the Thomas Manns, and other notable refugees. That is too bad for us.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Miss Hayward, I may tell you something along the lines of what you have been saying. We have in western Canada a man who had owned several packing plants in Europe, but was forced to flee from the Nazis and the Fascists. He has established a packing business in western Canada. I believe that our only hope of retaining the British market is to tell our packers how to prepare Canadian bacon for export. We have been importing pigs for the farmers in order to produce a good bacon strain, but we have never thought of importing anyone to tell our packers how to improve their bacon.

Miss HAYWARD: If I may, I should like to leave the story of our material gain, because that is not the only side of the refugee problem. I am glad to see that the Canadian Congress of Labour, in their submission, suggested that whether or not we secure any economic advantage by the admission of refugees, we have a moral obligation to assist them even if it costs us something.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Yes.

Miss HAYWARD: As you know, that has not been our policy. It was not our policy in 1938, when thousands of refugees were fleeing from Germany to Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and France. In Geneva I was asked if Canada did not want any refugees unless they had a lot of money. I may cite the case of a man who previous to that time had escaped from Germany and was waiting in Holland to secure a permit to come to Canada. He brought his family here, but it was necessary for him to leave his wife's parents in Holland. That man brought \$100,000 into this country. Later he built a home here. He invited me to see it and showed me the rooms he had prepared for those parents whom he hoped and expected to bring here. Then came the invasion of Holland and nothing was heard of the old couple until last summer. In 1942 they had been discovered in Holland hiding underground and had been sent to the gas chambers at Belsen. Those people are on our conscience—people who wanted to come to Canada and whom we were unwilling to take at that time. Ever since last summer our refugees have been waiting for and gradually getting news of what has happened to their families. It is a story of unspeakable tragedy. It is only here and there that a family discovers that any of its members survived the Nazi purge. I could go on and on with stories that are difficult for me to tell. That is why we feel it is so important that those few who are left after the suffering they went through should be united with their families here.

There is one instance of a man in Canada, a well-to-do person, who has only one niece in his family left in Czechoslovakia. The husband of that niece, with other relatives, has gone. She is alone. The man in Canada is well able to take care of her, but she is under sixteen, so is inadmissible by the present order for the admission of relatives. The committee has repeatedly asked for the admission of such relatives. We ask first for relatives, because of the humanitarian connection that I have suggested, and because it is an easily defined group, perhaps the easiest to move when more shipping facilities are available. If we have a moral obligation to assist a refugee because some of his relatives were lucky enough to secure admission to Canada, then I suggest that we have a much greater moral obligation to assist a refugee who is left homeless,

probably stateless, and alone in Europe because his relatives went to the gas chambers. I am referring to a part of this group of a million displaced persons, of whom Mr. Sandwell spoke. They are the German and Austrian anti-Nazis, the people who resisted and who suffered from Nazism even before the war; the people, who if they have survived, have survived in concentration camps by pure will in the hope in us for future help, or because they were hidden by the Dutch and Belgian families. We know of cases where people have stayed in rooms for twelve or eighteen months and did not dare to approach the window. Of the hundred and ten thousand people classified by the intergovernmental committee a large proportion of them are not Jewish.

When I make that statement I am reminded that there is a popular impression that all, or a large percentage, of the refugees have been Jewish. That is not correct. There have been Jewish refugees, and there were a lot more Jewish people who resisted and suffered from Hitlerism. But contrary to the general impression, the number of Jews among the 250,000 refugees who came into the United States a little more than half—I think the figure is 67·6—were Jewish. As far as Canada is concerned I think we have taken about 7,000 Jewish refugees from a total number which I estimate to be around 17,000 or 18,000.

Perhaps I should stop and explain where I get my figures, because there are no statistics. If we count the number of immigrants from Germany after the years 1933-34, and the number of Hebrew immigrants for the same time, all the Czechoslovakians from 1938 and the Poles from 1939, we get a total of about 17,869. To that we should perhaps add about 3,000 who came in on temporary permits. So you see the number of Jewish refugees is relatively small. There is one further figure I should like to place on the record. In 1931 the Jewish proportion of our population was 1·50. In 1941 it was 1·48. The difference is not great, but in the ten years of Hitler's persecution we did not save the lives of enough Jewish refugees to maintain constant the Jewish proportion of our population. Having that in mind I am sure we cannot refuse, and we will want to take, a large proportion of that group of 110,000, or indeed of the 350,000 which Mr. Hayes mentioned when he spoke for the Jewish Congress, as the number of Jews which should be immigrated from Europe. Surely that is a pitiful remnant with a total loss of 6,000,000. If Canada is going to make any contribution to the solution of the refugee problem we must take a generous proportion of those people.

May I simply summarize my remarks by stating our requests specifically. These are the requests to this committee for recommendation to the government. First, the matter of the relatives; the order in council, as you know, provides for the admission of parents of unmarried brothers and sisters, of orphan nieces and nephews under sixteen. We would ask for the admission of brothers and sisters, whether married or not, of aunts and uncles, nieces, nephews and cousins, whether under the age of sixteen, and married or unmarried. We should add to that the request that orphans under sixteen be admitted where there are relatives, friends or other arrangements guaranteeing their maintenance. In addition to that, as I have said, we suggest the relatives as a first group, and we hope that following them will come provision for the admission of a generous proportion of the number of displaced persons, including the number mentioned by Mr. Sandwell, and also German and Austrian anti-Nazis, who, after all, have had a longer period of suffering and homelessness.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Whether they have relatives or not?

Miss HAYWARD: Yes. We suggest relatives first because they are the easiest group to move. In doing that we ask neither for financial resources nor this confining regulation with reference to occupation. We ask that these things be done just as soon as shipping arrangements can be made. In talking to the

refugee people who come with pleas for the admission of their relatives, who so often are inadmissible, I have not found one who does not understand that the Canadian service personnel, and their dependents, must be brought home first; however, it would mean so much to them if they could write their relatives that they will be eligible. Even the people in Europe realize that if they have to wait for shipping it is a very different matter from sitting in a concentration camp with no hope, no security or no knowledge that even eventually they will be able to settle in this or some other country. In order to do that, we ask that this decision be announced and that steps be taken as soon as the shipping is available, to start these people moving. It will mean an increase in the personnel of our Immigration Department to take care of the larger movement, and it means also arranging to send our representatives to these people. There are at least 200 persons in Switzerland who have relatives here. How are they going to get to the immigration offices if our first step is simply to reopen the offices which Canada had before the war in Paris and Antwerp? The people will be stuck where they are.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Have any demands been made by the relatives?

Miss HAYWARD: Nothing except that the committee is trying to follow it up.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Have the demands been communicated to the government?

Hon. Mr. HORNER: That is from those 200 people?

Miss HAYWARD: That is from the representative of the Swiss migration service who was in Ottawa during the winter, and that information was taken to the minister. I am suggesting that one obligation which will arise if we have only two offices, one in Paris and one in Antwerp. I think it is most important that immigration officers must be sent to displaced persons' camps. The refugee movements are restricted and they will be held up at every frontier until they can get a permit to Canada; but, they cannot get a permit to Canada until they come to the immigration offices for examination. It will mean they are stuck. We would ask that as soon as those two offices are opened that arrangements will be made—and it will require a larger staff—to send officers into the camps to interview and investigate people there.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: Has this point which you have suggested about the officers going to the camps been taken to the department in any representations that your organization has made?

Miss HAYWARD: Yes, we suggested it. It was suggested a long time ago that such a policy would be necessary. I do not know what plans the department has made.

Hon. Mr. BUCHANAN: Have they given any encouragement to your suggestion?

Miss HAYWARD: We have not got any promise as to what will be done.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Or a refusal?

Miss HAYWARD: No.

Hon. Mr. KING: I do not think there would be much trouble in overcoming that problem if the department once makes up its mind to deal with it. I visited these offices years ago and they were very important; their chief function was from the point of view of health. However, the problem of the number of officers is, I would think, a matter of administration.

Miss HAYWARD: Yes it is.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: I find it hard to believe that an actual shortage of shipping exists. I would think that many of the ships that they are playing around with on this atomic bomb experiment could be easily used for this purpose.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Seventy-five of them.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: I believe it is just a case of waiting.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: We have been selling 10,000-tonners to China.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: On behalf of your committee, Miss Hayward, your most emphatic submision is that the relatives of those who are already in Canada be taken care of, and be brought here. Is that your point?

Miss HAYWARD: Yes, that they be brought here first, and then a group from the general displaced persons.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Your address, Miss Hayward, has been most delightful.

1946

THE SENATE OF CANADA



PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

STANDING COMMITTEE

ON

Immigration and Labour

On the operation and administration of the
Immigration Act, etc.

No. 10

WEDNESDAY, 31 July, 1946

The Honourable James Murdock, P.C. Chairman

WITNESSES:

Mr. Arthur Randles, C.B.E., M.S.M., General Passenger Traffic Manager (for Canada), Cunard White Star Ltd. and Donaldson Atlantic Line.

Mr. Carl E. Waselius, Montreal, P.Q., District Manager, Swedish American Line.

Mr. Stewart Bates, Deputy Director-General of Economic Research, Dept. of Reconstruction and Supply.

APPENDICES:

- (a) Appendix to Brief presented by Mr. Stewart Bates on Australian Immigration Policy.
- (b) Article by Prof. W. Burton Hurd, on Postwar Agricultural Settlement Possibilities in Canada.
- (c) Memorandum from Mr. R. McC. Walker, Toronto, Ontario, on immigration to Canada.

OTTAWA

EDMOND CLOUTIER, C.M.G., B.A., L.Ph.,
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
CONTROLLER OF STATIONERY

1946

STANDING COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND LABOUR

The Honourable JAMES MURDOCK, P.C., Chairman

The Honourable Senators

Aseltine	Donnelly	McGeer
Blais	Dupuis	Molloy
Bouchard	Euler	Murdock
Bourque	Ferland	Pirie
Buchanan	Haig	Robertson
Burkhill	Hardy	Robinson
Calder	Horner	Roebuck
Campbell	Hushion	Taylor
Crerar	Lesage	Vaillancourt
Daigle	Macdonald (<i>Cardigan</i>)	Venoit
David	McDonald (<i>Shediac</i>)	Wilson

ORDER OF REFERENCE

EXTRACT from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Senate, Wednesday, May 8, 1946.

"That the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour be authorized and directed to examine into the Immigration Act (R.S.C. Chapter 93 and Amendments) its operation and administration and the circumstances and conditions relating thereto including (a) the desirability of admitting immigrants to Canada, (b) the type of immigrant which should be preferred, including origin, training and other characteristics, (c) the availability of such immigrants for admission, (d) the facilities, resources and capacity of Canada to absorb, employ and maintain such immigrants, and (e) the appropriate terms and conditions of such admission;

And that the said Committee report its findings to this house;

And that the said Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records."

L. C. MOYER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

WEDNESDAY, 31st July, 1946.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour met this day at 10.30 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators Murdock, Chairman; Aseltine, Burchill, David, Dupuis, Euler, Ferland, Horner, McDonald (*Shediac*), Robinson, Roebuck, Taylor, Vaillancourt, Wilson—14.

The official reporters of the Senate were in attendance.

The Committee resumed consideration of the order of reference of 8th May, 1946, directing the Committee to examine into the operation and administration of the Immigration Act, etc.

The Hon. Senator Roebuck read a statement from Mr. W. Van Ark, Assistant Chief Transport Officer, U.S. Zone, UNRRA, on displaced people of Europe and advocating admittance to Canada of certain of the displaced people of Europe, which was ordered to be included in the record.

Mr. Arthur Randles, C.B.E., M.S.M., General Passenger Traffic Manager (for Canada), Cunard White Star Limited and Donaldson Atlantic Line, was heard and read a brief on the important part played by Trans-Atlantic Steamship Lines in the development of immigration, and was questioned by Members of the Committee.

Mr. Carl E. Waselius, Montreal, Quebec, District Manager, Swedish American Line, was heard on the service provided by the Swedish American Line for immigration to Canada, and was questioned by Members of the Committee.

Mr. Stewart Bates, Deputy Director-General of Economic Research, Dept. of Reconstruction and Supply, was heard and read a brief on Canadian Economic Progress and Immigration, and was questioned by Members of the Committee.

Dr. Bates filed as an Appendix to his brief a statement on Australian Immigration Policy.

Hon. Senator Roebuck filed the following documents which were ordered to be included in the record:—

Article from *Journal of Farm Economics*, May, 1945, by Professor W. Burton Hurd, on Postwar Agricultural Settlement Possibilities in Canada.

Memorandum from Mr. R. McC. Walker, Toronto, Ontario, on immigration to Canada.

At 1 o'clock p.m. the Committee adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, 1st August, 1946, at 10.30 a.m.

Attest.

H. ARMSTRONG,
Clerk of the Committee.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

THE SENATE,

OTTAWA, Wednesday, July 31, 1946.

The Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour, which was authorized and directed to examine into the Immigration Act, met this day at 10.30 a.m.

Hon. Mr. MURDOCK in the Chair.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Chairman, I have a memorandum from Mr. W. van Ark, Assistant Chief Transport Officer, U.S. Zone, UNRRA, whose present address is New York City. He is a Canadian and an officer in the Canadian Army, who has been used by UNNRA. He has been an Immigration Inspector, I think, for the Canadian Government. He comes from Holland originally, I believe, but he used to live in Toronto. I have known him personally for many years. If I may I will read a brief that he has sent me in connection with the camps in Europe. He was present at one of the meetings of our committee and was unable to come back to present the brief personally, so he asked the privilege of filing a memorandum and this was readily granted. I will now read the document:—

Mr. CHAIRMAN AND HONOURABLE GENTLEMEN:

When I landed in Canada two weeks ago for a brief visit to my family in Toronto, I learned that this committee was gathering data pertaining to our Canadian immigration policy.

It is my privilege to be an UNRRA official, operating in the past fourteen months as a DP camp Director and latterly as Assistant Chief Transportation Officer in the U.S. Zone.

As a Team Director, I have managed in Assembly Centres up to 15,000 DP's, where I was responsible for creating order out of chaos, for food; clothing; shelter; general welfare; clinics; hospitalization; providing educational and religious services; work programmes; policing and training or directing in democratic self-government.

I do not speak for or in the name of UNRRA, but as a private citizen who wishes to give you information of most recent date and based on personal experience and observation.

My observations are made from a standpoint of Canadian colonization, based on a twenty years' experience gained in Western Canada and on the continent of Europe.

When I saw the hundreds of thousands of DP's settling down in camps in Germany, I viewed them with a critical eye, just as an immigration inspector would be searching for the qualities which would make prospective settlers fit material to build up our nation.

I do not speak for the Jewish people, for I presume that very capable representatives have placed their arguments before you for your consideration, but rather for the greater mass still in Germany, namely the Poles, and the Baltic nationals.

As of May, 1946, the total number of DP's were approximately 880,000 for French, British and U.S. zones. British Zone had 420,000; U.S. Zone had 400,000; French Zone had 60,000.

With your permission I shall deal with the poles first.

The Polish repatriation up to that date amounted to approximately 434,000. Those who did not want to go back, gave the following reasons:—

They refused to live under a totalitarian government. When persistent persuasion is used to help them to make up their minds to return to their homeland, invariably the reply is: "Look here, Sir, we know that it is your duty to get us home, to use all arguments to make us pack up and go to Poland, but all your arguments, or reports are hearsay. None of you know what life is under Soviet rule. We do. We experienced it and we will never go back until Poland is free from Soviet domination."

The DP's were in a pitiful condition when they were gathered in the Assembly Centres. Their stomachs could be filled, clothes and temporary shelters provided, but it was horrible to see how Hitler's hordes had succeeded in kicking them in the gutter and making slaves out of them. Thanks to the United Nations' efforts, UNRRA was able to rehabilitate these masses and an excellent job was done to recover decency and make them feel and enjoy the privileges of civilized people again. The response was a pleasure to behold. Their first act was to plan regular church services, their domestic life was put in order, and under leadership of UNRRA officers a form of self-government established.

When order replaced chaos, a routine life settled over the camps and proper human treatment in detail followed. Prenatal and other clinics were set up, health rules were strictly carried out, educational programmes made for all ages and work programmes together with training courses were established. As one can imagine, this camp-life has made them fit again with a zest for life to get out and work out their own life's problems.

They firmly believe that the nations which contribute to their physical and moral rehabilitation will not force them to live under Soviet rule, but enable them by emigration to live under democratic rule, as we understand it; and enable them to contribute to the building of Canada of which they have heard so much.

As emigration is their only hope, they wonder why no one is able to tell them whether Canada wants them or not. So their inquiries are:

If Canada keeps its doors closed can we go to Australia, or South America?

They all know about the 39,000 to be admitted to the U.S.A., but the orphans are given preference, so that does not affect the DP situation as a whole.

What has amazed many observers is the great fortitudes, patience that enabled the Polish people to suffer and endure the hardships caused by the Nazis. The usual pioneer condition of our Canadian West will not be hard to bear by comparison.

Their physical rehabilitation is complete now and the men and women are fit to do heavy manual labour. They are accustomed to it, they come from the rural sections. They worked on the lands, in the forests and the mines. They come largely from small villages, where it is common that artisans work their own plot of land to raise sufficient food for their own table. They are not accustomed to any form of luxury, but happy and content when they can work out their own future, in their own way, which in their case is closely linked to the rites of the Roman

Catholic Church. Their needs are few, easily satisfied but their contribution as labourers in the fields of construction and agriculture in the forests are of the utmost importance to Canada to-day.

Canada needs domestic servants. There are large numbers waiting in the UNRRA assembly centres, ready to go when Canada opens its doors.

The Baltic Nationals:

This group, the Estonians, the Latvians and the Lithuanians form, after the Poles, the second largest block of DP's awaiting a decision regarding emigration. I presume that you gentlemen are well aware of the high education standards which prevail in the above named countries, now occupied by and included in the USSR. They are experts in dairy farming and firm believers in co-operative efforts. This became at once apparent in the DP assembly centres when they assisted to organize the many services in their behalf and worked out extremely well their whole educational system. They are a pleasant type, well mannered, law abiding, intelligent and most willing workers. Very democratic in their outlook, coinciding with our own. Neat, with an inventive turn of mind.

These people would be an asset to any country. Can we afford to refuse entrance to such high quality emigrants?

Besides the emigration possibilities for DP's there will be large numbers of prospects in Holland and other Western European countries.

Hollanders:

It is scarcely necessary to enumerate the excellent qualities possessed by the Netherland New Canadians. The high quality of these emigrants is undoubtedly obtained through the selective system set up by the Canadian immigration authorities and carried out by the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Colonization departments, which carefully investigated every applicant before bringing them before Canadian immigration inspectors for a visa at port of embarkation. They have been shown to be successful pioneers. Prosperous groups in Saskatchewan and Alberta prove this. Dairy men and stock raisers. Outstanding wheat farmers—even adopting new methods, e.g., strip farming in the dry belt. Excellent mixed farmers, setting the pace for the whole community; an example is the largest Holland settlement in Canada, at Neerlandia, 85 miles north west of Edmonton, Alberta, which is marked on the tourist map, not for quaintness, but for its exemplary progressive farming methods, beautiful farm homes, cleanliness, co-operative methods. Should people of such stock and type be denied admittance to Canada?

Allow me to mention their moral and citizenship qualities, best expressed by a statement made by an R.C.M.P. constable who was inspecting the area in which Neerlandia is situated. We discussed the behaviour of the settlers who had then lived there for 15 years without the need of any police or court interference. "Mr. van Ark," he said, "if this country is filled up with this kind of settlers, I'll find myself without a job!"

Checking the records of Hollanders in other Canadian provinces we hear similar stories. Outstanding also is the success of the Dutch settlers in Holland Marsh, 32 miles north of Toronto. They are progressive, known for their trustworthiness, hard work and dependability.

There are many thousands in Holland anxious to come, who if they are not wanted will go to Australia and New Zealand, or South America. We should wake up and secure the pick of the crop, thereby fortifying the fabric of our nation's pattern. I wish to state the intense satisfaction I got out of my colonization efforts when during the war years young men

in Canadian uniforms called at my home in Toronto to say good-bye, going overseas. These same lads I had seen led by their mother's hand going on board ship, sailing for Canada from Holland, after I had selected them as fit for settling in our West. This was proof of quality. Within a few years, these lads were ready to give all for Canada. It is also a tribute to our Canadian school system which so effectively produces good results in Canadianization of our newcomers.

This record does not apply to Hollanders exclusively; similar observations can be made of the Danes and the Norwegians. I point out these facts to stress the desirability of getting this type of settlers when they are waiting for a statement from our government whether they are permitted to come, whether they are wanted or not. For if they are not wanted here, Australia and South America will have the benefit of this very desirable type of people.

Canada has spent in the past considerable amounts of money to attract emigrants. In this case we have thousands of people waiting anxiously to come to our shores.

There is on the continent of Europe no knowledge of any decision made by Canada's authorities. All are waiting for an announcement from the Canadian Government. And as we cannot give a suitable reply, their thought turn to France, the Argentine, Brazil and Australia. It is obvious that if other countries are ahead of us, they can choose the most desirable elements.

We have a valuable yardstick by which we measure the quality of people who settle in Canada, a yardstick which shows us also how effective our system of selection of immigrants is. We want the best type of people obtainable. By best type I mean, according to Canadian requirements. Those who in the past, proved to be fit for citizens were allowed to remain, those unfit were deported. That yardstick is the list of deportations by nationalities as published in Canada's Year Book. These lists for the past 20 years make very interesting reading and should be closely studied before a change in the regulations is made.

Canada is paying her share to finance UNRRA's operations. This is a financial contribution gladly given in order to reduce human misery and to restore thousands to a life of decency. This expense can become one of the best investments we have ever made, a blessing to our country, if we allow the people whom we helped to rehabilitate, to come to live here and to help us, with their ability to work and their talents to develop our Canada so richly endowed by nature with forests and mines, and above all with good earth.

Respectfully submitted,

(Sgd.) W. VAN ARK.

The CHAIRMAN: Who it the first witness this morning?

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Chairman, I have also a valuable contribution made by W. M. Carlisle. The document is headed, "Queen's University. Immigration: Problems, Principles and Policies, 1946. A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts in candidacy for the degree of Bachelor of Commerce, Commerce and Administration, By William MacKay Carlisle, Kingston, Ontario, April, 1946." It is a study of the immigration problem in all its phases and in a very exhaustive and capable manner; it is a fine piece of reading and is available to any member who wishes to go through it. This is the original document submitted to Queen's University and upon which the writer was given a degree of Bachelor of Commerce. He writes saying that there is so much work and analysis in it he does not care to see it pigeon-holed at Queen's University,

and has sent it to us in the hope that it may be of some service to us in the course of our studies. I have written him, thanking him for it and explaining the appreciation of the committee.

Hon. Mr. FERLAND: The document has not been published?

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: No, it has not been published.

Hon. Mr. FERLAND: Are they going to publish it?

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: No, I do not suppose they are.

We will hear next from Mr. Arthur Randles, C.B.E., M.S.M., who is the General Passenger Traffic Manager, for Canada, of the Cunard White Star Limited and the Donaldson Atlantic Line. I understand Mr. Randles can give us information with regard to transportation of immigrants to this country.

Mr. Arthur Randles, C.B.E., M.S.M., General Passenger Traffic Manager, for Canada, of the Cunard White Star Limited and Donaldson Atlantic Line:

Mr. Chairman and Honourable Members of the Senate Committee, I thank you for granting me this opportunity of appearing before you and with your permission I will read my brief.

1. I am the General Passenger Traffic Manager in Canada of the Cunard White Star line and we also represent the Donaldson Atlantic Line in North America. I propose to table with you a copy of this short brief which I have prepared and which, I hope, will indicate the important part which is played by the trans-Atlantic steamship lines in the development of immigration.

2. It is perhaps generally known that the Cunard Line, with 106 years of continuous operation, is the oldest trans-Atlantic steamship company. The Company was founded by a man of Canadian birth, viz: Samuel Cunard, who was born in 1787 in the port of Halifax. Having established himself as a successful merchant and shipowner in his native city, Samuel Cunard envisaged a regular service of steamships between Britain and Canada and was successful in securing a contract from the authorities in London to provide a weekly steamship service primarily to carry mails and passengers between the two countries. The service, at first known as the British and North American Steam Packet Company Limited (Cunard Line), was inaugurated by four vessels entirely propelled by steam engines and the first sailing was that of the ss. *Britannia* which left Liverpool for Halifax on July 4, 1840. From that date, with the exception of a break of about 30 years, the Cunard Line has continuously maintained a regular ocean service to Canada.

3. The White Star Line was established some 30 years later than the Cunard Line and entered the Canadian trade by its acquisition of the Dominion Line. In 1933 a merger of the Cunard Line and the White Star Line was effected, explaining the present title of the Company, viz: Cunard White Star Line.

4. Messrs. Donaldson Brothers Limited of Glasgow have maintained a regular service of steamers between Scotland and Canada for over half a century and the passenger vessels of the company operating as the Donaldson Atlantic Line are run in conjunction with those of the Cunard White Star Line.

5. While the Cunard Line's original fleet carried only first-class passengers, the trend of migration from Europe to North America, beginning in the middle of the last century, naturally encouraged the shipowners to cater for emigrants, who were transported in what was then known as "steerage" accommodation.

As the demand for passages grew, competition between the steamship companies became very intense, and in seeking new business the competing companies found it necessary to appoint booking agencies and eventually to open offices of their own in all parts of Europe from which the emigrants originated. It developed that organizations built up by the steamship companies became, in effect, the sole recruiting agencies for the migrants and settlers so eagerly sought by both the United States and Canada. It can thus be claimed that without the extensive European connections of the steamship companies, it would have been practically impossible to recruit any immigrants at all, let alone the important task of bringing them from their remote homelands and transporting them to our Canadian ports.

6. It must be remembered that the decade prior to 1914 represented the period of the greatest influx of settlers to Canada, and in fact to the United States. At that time the Dominion Government, by offering European settlers free home-steads of 160 acres each and by paying a per capita bonus to the European —booking agents of steamship companies, took active steps to develop a flow of immigration. Not only was this a period of great prosperity and expansion for the Dominion, but it was also thereby a lucrative period for the shipping companies, thus enabling them to invest in the most modern types of vessels.

7. During World War One the Cunard Line was unfortunate enough to lose its entire Canadian passenger fleet by enemy action but with the return of peace, and encouraged by the prospects of a resumption of immigration, the Company invested at heavy cost in an entirely new fleet of ships, especially constructed for the St. Lawrence trade. The new vessels were hardly in operation before economic stress finally reduced the stream of immigrants to Canada to a mere trickle.

8. It is, I think, very important to inform the honourable members of this Committee that the steamships which my company employed for the carriage of immigrants were adapted to a dual purpose, their second function being the carriage of large quantities of Canadian commodities for regular and fast delivery to the British market. Our specially constructed vessels were able to carry in refrigerated or insulated space a very substantial load of perishables, such as meats, bacon, butter, cheese, eggs, etc. Vessels of this type and speed are expensive in operation, and I venture to suggest that if it had not been optimistically believed that these ships would secure a reasonable quota of immigrants, their costly construction would not have been undertaken. The foresight of the Cunard in developing such type of ships has played no small part in developing Canada's exports of highly perishable farm products. Passenger vessels to Canada also provide facilities for ocean travellers such as tourists, visitors, business people, etc., but the volume of such traffic does not compensate an operator for loss of revenue because of the large quantity of passenger accommodation left unfilled by the lack of immigrants.

I am endeavouring to demonstrate as briefly as possible that the lack of immigrant traffic renders the operation of fast passenger cargo vessels a hazardous financial venture.

9. In the years 1920 to 1939 the free entry of immigrants was abolished and the movement of peoples was placed under different types of restriction. The result has been that little profit was made in the operation of our costly Canadian fleet; and now, at the end of the second Great War, the interested shipping companies are faced with the same problem as at the end of 1918. What sort of new ship should be designed for the Canadian trade? The answer undoubtedly depends upon what long-term policy the Government of Canada will adopt as to the entry of new settlers. As you have heard from other witnesses, passenger

ships are scarce and it takes time and heavy cost to build new ones. The life of the modern liner is relatively short and volume of traffic is the determining factor in its construction.

10. I do not suggest that an artificial flow of immigrants should be established to keep steamship lines in business, but the committee would wish to know that it is essential to the maintenance of adequate, up-to-date steamship connections, so vital an adjunct to a big commercial nation.

11. To revert to the importance of the steamship companies in recruiting immigrants by providing facilities in Europe, I would like to record: that in the United Kingdom rigid control is exercised by the Board of Trade, which issues a licence covering the equipment and operation of a ship employed in carrying emigrant passengers, thus ensuring a high class type of vessel.

Booking agents in the United Kingdom are obliged to obtain a licence from the authorized shipping companies before they can sell emigrant tickets.

Every important country on the continent of Europe has enacted emigration laws and regulations. Under these laws, licences at substantial annual costs are issued only to approved steamship companies, who are placed under heavy bond and confined to the sale of emigrant tickets in their own licensed offices. No one but a concessioned steamship company can deal with an emigrant, who may not be incited to emigrate.

12. Contrary to general opinion, there are very few nations that permit their people to emigrate without safeguards. Some emigration laws demand that the licensed steamship company shall repatriate, free of charge, those emigrants who through unsatisfactory settlement conditions fall into distress abroad. The Canadian Immigration Act, in turn, places responsibility upon steamship companies of repatriating, up to a period of five years from entry, unsatisfactory immigrants, such as those who become public charges, who are guilty of criminal offences or become mentally afflicted, etc.

13. The Cunard White Star and the Donaldson Atlantic Line have co-operated wholeheartedly with the Dominion Department of Immigration in the development of migration from the United Kingdom, including at times substantial contributions to reduced rates or assisted passages.

In the development of Canada, the great railway companies have obviously a great responsibility and in the direction of immigration and settlement, the companies with which I am associated have for many years co-operated with the Canadian National Railways; we provide that huge organization with its principal steamship link and develop mutually the recruitment, selection and transportation of settlers from the Old World and, in fact, co-ordinate our joint resources whenever possible. The Canadian National Railways' activities in immigration and settlement are dealt with in the excellent brief presented to the honourable members of this committee by Mr. J. S. McGowan, Director, Department of Colonization and Agriculture of the Canadian National Railways.

14. Another and greater world war has ended and indications appear to point to the possibility of a substantial demand for immigration if permission to enter Canada is extended. As I have said, the cost of maintaining modern vessels is formidable, and it would be folly to contemplate the investment of something like ten million dollars per ship in providing new vessels unless there is more concrete prospect of a continuing volume of immigration traffic.

At the present time there is, of course, no passage space available for immigrants but we are cognizant of the urge to seek a new life on the part of thousands upon thousands of European peoples. We follow the views expressed by the proponents of immigration and realizing its vast resources we have faith that Canada will expand.

15. As an important factor in Canada's overseas trade, the Cunard White Star naturally awaits a definition of a long-term immigration policy without which it cannot mould its own line of action. As a recruiting agency for emigrant traffic we are aware of the intense desire of large numbers of people in Europe, including Britain, who wish to better their lot by migration. These people without some official guidance become discouraged, but I believe that if they were told that at some reasonably early date they may have an opportunity to enter Canada, they would patiently wait and husband their resources pending their movement. For instance, Australia invites them, offers generous assistance, but tells applicants there will be a period of waiting for shipping space.

16. I will not attempt to enlarge upon the importance to a great expanding nation of the maintenance of adequate overseas steamship connections, except to mention the essential services performed by the Merchant Marine during a major war. It may be of interest to record that the Cunard White Star transported on its own vessels more than 10,000,000 tons of war supplies and over 4,000,000 troops during the recent conflict. As the Chairman of the company said in his last year's report: "The services performed by the *Queen Elizabeth* and the *Queen Mary* probably shortened the war in Europe by at least one year."

It may also be of interest to this Committee that Cunard White Star's own vessels transported more than half a million Canadian fighting men from Halifax to Britain in the war years. It is fortunate that this company by its earlier enterprise had such ships available.

17. Again I thank the honourable members of the Committee for hearing me.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That is a very interesting statement, Mr. Randles. The substance of it is that if we are going to have steamship companies we must adopt a policy that will enable them to spend money.

Hon. Mr. EULER: What do you mean by a long-term policy?

Mr. RANDLES: The life of a passenger steamship is about twenty years.

Mr. EULER: Do you mean that our government should declare a 20-year term to encourage immigration?

Mr. RANDLES: Yes.

Hon. Mr. EULER: What about a change of government? Supposing this government declared a 20-year term with respect to immigration and a new government came in before that term was up, you might be left holding the bag, as the saying is?

Mr. RANDLES: Yes. From 1920 to 1929 we built eight costly ships, when costs were high, though they were nothing as high as they are to-day. I think each of those eight ships cost about a million pounds, that is about five million dollars, but to-day the cost would be double that.

The CHAIRMAN: The cost would be about \$10,000,000?

Mr. RANDLES: More than that. The cost of building ships to-day is enormous.

Hon. Mr. BURCHILL: I was interested in what you said about Australia. Have they a definite long-term policy?

Mr. RANDLES: I understand they have a five-year policy anyway. I believe they are asking for 70,000 immigrants a year from Britain and northern Europe; and not only that, but they are offering to pay the cost of transportation of veterans and offering a rate of £10 for non-veterans.

Hon. Mr. EULER: It would take some years to build a ship, would it not.

Mr. RANDLES: About five years.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: The United Kingdom is putting up part of the money in connection with that Australian scheme?

Mr. RANDLES: I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN: You spoke of Britain and northern Europe. What part of Europe does that cover?

Mr. RANDLES: I should say Holland and Belgium and the Scandinavian countries, and there might even be some Italians, but I am speaking without knowledge as to that.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Has Australia set an objective in the number by which she hopes to increase her population?

Mr. RANDLES: I am not in the Australian business, but I understand they are aiming to increase the population by immigration of 70,000 a year.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: I saw somewhere that they hope to increase the population eventually by 10,000,000.

Mr. RANDLES: I saw that somewhere.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Are the South American countries encouraging immigration at the present time?

Mr. RANDLES: I understand so. I am not in that business, but I understand that Brazil is particularly anxious to get European immigrants.

Hon. Mr. EULER: That would be immigrants of much the same class as Canada is interested in?

Mr. RANDLES: Yes, agriculturists. In my wartime capacity in Ottawa I happened to meet the representative of the Brazilian government, and he painted in glowing terms the prospects of settlement in Brazil, not only in agriculture but in other lines. I understand that Brazil has about 30,000,000 people, which is about three times our population, but it is thinly spread.

Hon. Mr. EULER: And a lot of their people are of different types from ours.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Is it possible to make some makeshift arrangement for transporting immigrants? You speak of a ship costing \$10,000,000. Is it possible to have a ship on a less luxurious scale? Somebody said to us in this committee that emigrants would not be too fussy about the kind of transportation they were given. They would not want oysters on the half-shell.

Mr. RANDLES: But on those ships that we brought out immigrants we would naturally expect to have to carry something back. Ocean traffic is a two-way street. It would not pay us to bring immigrants here and have our ships go back empty. We have only two of our Canadian ships left and we are puzzling our heads as to what type of accommodation we should build, because we do not know where the traffic is coming from. We have other ships on the large service that we are maintaining to New York, and I suppose that if immigrants were flowing to Canada we would probably, as a temporary stop-gap, divert some ships from New York to Halifax. We are in the fortunate position of having that dual service. But it would not be proper to improvise ships in order to bring out immigrants. We were assailed for doing that in the 'eighties. I do not agree with the contention that an emigrant will come out in any type of transportation. He will say that until he gets on board. Also, I do not think we would like to improvise ships, from the company's point of view. We have made a specialty of making passengers comfortable, because the more immigrants we bring to Canada the greater is our chance of eastbound passenger business later on. We have had a substantial business in the past in carrying people from Canada back to Europe for a trip, after they have been here a few years.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: The space which you use for carrying passengers one way cannot be used for carrying freight the other way?

Mr. RANDLES: We do not use the same space, so unless there is eastbound passenger traffic the space we used for immigrants goes back empty. The days of dismountable accommodation are gone; they were gone before the last war,

in fact. I have been with the Cunard Line for about 39 years and I lived many years on the continent, as Continental Manager. I came in at the stage when immigrants were provided with nothing but beds, when they had to bring their own mattress and knife and spoon. The accommodation that was provided for immigrants in 1929 was as good as was provided for first class passengers in the 'nineties.

Hon. Mrs. WILSON: And the people come from different walks of life.

Mr. RANDLES: Exactly, Senator Wilson.

Hon. Mrs. WILSON: A young man, a very fine type of agriculturist, came to see me not long ago and told me he was very anxious to bring his father and brother here from Switzerland, where they are noted breeders of dairy cattle. He was almost in despair of getting them here and said you could hardly expect them to wait for their chance to come to Canada when the Brazilian government is offering such inducements to attract farmers to Brazil.

There is a firm in Woodstock that has built up a very good export business, and they applied to know if they could bring in two specialists. The company has a branch in the United States, and the manager said that if he was not allowed to bring the specialists he would have to convert his United States branch into his head plant.

Mr. RANDLES: There are any number of people who came from Europe to Canada who are now anxious to bring their friends and relatives. That is perhaps the initial way to begin, because there is some safeguard that the people will be taken care of. If they are not, we have to take them back for nothing.

Hon. Mrs. WILSON: We are begging the department to enlarge their terms.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Mr. Randles, is it the law that if you bring in an immigrant and he fails to make good within five years, you must take him back?

Mr. RANDLES: Yes, at any time within five years we must take them back for nothing irrespective of where they came from. If they happen to be mentally afflicted they must go back. I have known instances where we sent two conductors with a man all the way from western Canada to Warsaw. That is the onus placed upon the steamship company.

Hon. Mr. EULER: The Immigration Department has its own medical officers abroad to examine these people.

Mr. RANDLES: So have the steamship companies. I organized the Cunard Company after the last war and in each important centre I appointed a medical officer to safeguard us.

Hon. Mr. EULER: It does not appear fair to me that the company should be responsible for five years.

Mr. RANDLES: A man may become a criminal, and the medical officer cannot determine that until he gets into a certain environment. That is the onus placed upon the transportation company.

Hon. Mr. DUPUIS: Was not that section put in the immigration laws during the days when the steamship companies were themselves interested in bringing immigrants?

Mr. RANDLES: I do not think so. It applies equally to the railway companies. If the Canadian Pacific transports immigrants they are responsible for their inland transportation. It refers to transportation companies, not shipping companies.

Hon. Mr. DUPUIS: Is it not true that at one time the transportation companies were anxious to induce the Canadian government to bring in immigrants because it was a paying proposition?

Mr. RANDLES: It pays by quantity, but I do not say that any steamship company had very much influence with the government.

Hon. Mr. DUPUIS: The transportation companies were inducing the government to bring in immigrants in large numbers, and so I presumed that at that time the government forced the companies to provide for return passage.

Mr. RANDLES: No, that is not quite the interpretation.

Hon. Mr. DUPUIS: I am just asking you the question.

Mr. RANDLES: The railways companies, for instance, probably urged the government to increase the population because without it they could not maintain their railways; but, no one in my memory has gone out and deliberately imposed upon the people by transporting them from one country to another. As I said in my brief, we are not allowed to do that. There have been abuses in the dark days of course, and there always will be.

Hon. Mr. DUPUIS: I have heard that members of the transportation companies were the ones who tried to induce the government to bring in immigrants in large numbers. That is why I am asking the question.

Mr. RANDLES: I do not think so. I have a fairly good history of transportation of immigrants, and I do not think we would waste our time, nor that the government would listen to us.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: In the past do I understand that the government had arrangements with steamship companies for the obtaining of premiums for immigrants that were brought into Canada?

Mr. RANDLES: The government had an arrangement, but it was not with the steamship company. The government of Canada had its own offices in Europe, and it paid premiums in the early days to the booking agents. The steamship companies did not get it, the agent who sold the ticket was encouraged to do so, and of course those were the days of free homesteads.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: So the booking agent in Europe became the recruiting agent for the government of Canada?

Mr. RANDLES: Yes, but they were only acting as recruiting agents by virtue of the fact that they received a licence from the licensed steamship companies.

Hon. Mr. EULER: They were also your employees?

Mr. RANDLES: No, they were booking agents as distinguished from officers. We paid them commission on every ticket they sold.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: So the more immigrants they attracted the more tickets they sold, and the more commision they got.

Mr. RANDLES: Yes, on the basis that the labourer is worthy of his hire.

Hon. Mr. DUPUIS: Is this policy still in force?

Mr. RANDLES: No, the government abolished the paying of premiums in 1912 or 1913.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Randles, that is a very fine piece of information, and we thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN: It is a nice presentation.

Mr. RANDLES: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: We have with us Mr. Carl E. Waselius, who is the representative of the Swedish American Line. Mr. Waselius will make a short statement, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Carl E. Waselius:

Mr. Chairman, Honourable Senators: I wish to thank Senator Roebuck for extending the invitation to me to appear at this meeting, and it is a pleasure indeed to have this opportunity to outline a few facts, to the best of my ability and knowledge, in connection with present day shipping facilities between Europe and this continent.

Swedish American Line, the steamship line I represent, resumed its peacetime trans-Atlantic service with the sailing of our S.S. *Drottningholm* from our home port, Gothenburg, in Sweden, on March 26 this year, and the S.S. *Drottningholm* sailed on her first peacetime voyage from this side out of New York on April 13.

Since our M.S. *Gripsholm* was released by the United States Government, to which Government she was under charter from 1942 to 1946, we have maintained a bi-weekly service between Sweden and New York. No doubt, everyone of the honourable members of this Committee has seen the name *Gripsholm* appear at one time or another in the daily newspapers in connection with the humanitarian work this vessel and her gallant crew were performing during the trying war years. The following testimonial, issued by the State Secretary of the United States, speaks for itself:—

The M.V. *Gripsholm*, while under charter to the United States Government from May 1942 to April 1946, anchored herself securely in the pages of the history of humanity by her eleven voyages across war-tossed seas to succor from prison and hospital the thousands of civilians, and sick and wounded combatants, whom she carried safely to their homes again.

For the gallant and self-sacrificing men and women of the *Gripsholm*, to whose services of mercy the return to happiness and health of these thousands of rescued are forever indebted, the assuring name *Gripsholm* will stand in the memory of mankind as the symbol of their deeds well done, and of their dauntless spirit.

On behalf of the Government of the United States I take pleasure in attesting the abiding gratitude of America to the *Gripsholm* and her complement.

Done at the City of Washington this twenty-seventh day of March in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and forty-six and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and seventy-first.

(Signed:) JAMES F. BYRNES,
Secretary of State.

Thus we have two ships in the regular traffic between Sweden and this continent, but additional new tonnage is being added to our fleet in not too distant a future. I am happy to state that we have already brought on these two ships a great number of Canadians and aliens from Europe back to their homes in Canada. These people had been stranded in Europe at the outbreak of war. The name Swedish American Line does not mean that we carry only Swedes and Scandinavians on our ships. Since our trans-Atlantic service was resumed, we have carried passengers of almost every nationality from Europe.

General agencies have been established in the following cities on the continent of Europe: Antwerp, Belgium; Prague, Czechoslovakia; Paris, France; Zurich, Switzerland; The Hague, Holland; and Budapest, Hungary. An office in London, England, is of course maintained. These offices were opened in view of the steadily increasing business from the continent of Europe, and the

staffs of these offices are already busy in assisting our passengers to obtain necessary travel documents and arrange their forwarding to the port of embarkation, which is Gothenburg, Sweden.

So far we have been successful in bringing out a number of people from Czechoslovakia, Belgium, France, and Holland. We have even brought over some war brides. On our last sailing from Gothenburg we brought forward a lady passenger from Poland. It took us some time to get her out of Poland, but she is now happily reunited with her family in Toronto.

The point I am trying to bring to light is that we are prepared to handle the traffic the moment the immigration authorities are ready to let new immigrants come forward and furthermore, we have space at present on our ships for a limited number of immigrants, which situation will improve in the very near future.

It may be of interest to the honourable members of this Committee to know about the transportation facilities from some of these countries. Every third week there is a sailing from Antwerp to Gothenburg. There is a regular air service thrice weekly from Stockholm to Brussels, also a through railroad service between Stockholm and Brussels three times a week. There is also air service between Prague, Czechoslovakia, and Stockholm once a week, or one can travel from Prague by bus direct to Copenhagen, whence one can reach Gothenburg in 7 hours by rail or ferry. Malmo in Sweden can be reached by air once a week from Zurich, Switzerland. From Poland one can fly to Stockholm or travel by water from Gdynia to Sweden. We are planning to have our own ship take care of the traffic between Gdynia and Gothenburg as soon as conditions warrant.

I am trying to bring to the honourable members' attention the fact that, although shipping space is very scarce, it may not be quite as bad as the general public is made to believe from what is said in the daily press.

We are also carrying a good number of passengers from the United Kingdom. At present our ships are calling westbound at Liverpool to pick up approximately 300 repatriates on every trip. This is a special arrangement between the British Ministry of War Transport and the Swedish American Line. Regular passengers from England have to embark at Gothenburg. When this agreement with the British Ministry of War Transport expires, we will have about 300 berths available for immigrants, and it will be considered to have westbound calls made at some of the Channel ports. Arrangements can also be made to have our ships call westbound at Halifax to disembark passengers for Canada.

Conditions in Sweden are good, and Canada cannot therefore expect a great number of immigrants from there. In Norway and Denmark conditions are somewhat different, and judging from applications received from people who have applied for admission to Canada, a great deal of immigration can be expected from these countries. Most of the applications received by us are from residents in Canada of Finnish origin, who have applied for permission to bring forward some of their relatives to Canada.

We have learned with considerable satisfaction that the Department of Immigration is planning to open an office in the Scandinavian countries, which is greatly appreciated. This will, of course, help us in handling the immigrant traffic from the Scandinavian countries and Finland.

Thank you.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That is the first ray of sunshine we have had in the matter of transportation. Mr. Waselius, you are actually running a steamship service between the Scandinavian countries and the United States?

Mr. WASELIUS: Yes, but we are ready to call at Halifax any time.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Are you increasing your shipping? Are you building new ships?

Mr. WASELIUS: We are building a new ship. We have one that will be launched about a month from now, but will not be ready for service until early next Spring. I understand plans are made to add some more tonnage.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Mr. Waselius, would you mind referring to your brief at the place where you mentioned something about restricted accommodation? What does that apply to?

Mr. WASELIUS: Limited space, I think I said. Of course right now we are practically booked full, for every westbound as well as eastbound sailing. But, as a matter of fact I have arranged transportation or sold prepaid passage for people from Czechoslovakia, Poland and Belgium, and even for war brides.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: How many ships have you got?

Mr. WASELIUS: Just two now. We had three before the war.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Where do those immigrants have to pass the Canadian immigration authorities for medical inspection and so on?

Mr. WASELIUS: The Department of Immigration is planning to open an office in Scandinavia, most likely at our home port, Gothenburg.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Where are they inspected now?

Mr. WASELIUS: These are only returning Canadians.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Not immigrants.

Mr. WASELIUS: No. I am trying to get out some immigrants from Czechoslovakia now, and they will be examined on this side until Canada has established her offices on the continent of Europe.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: You would bring them over here and they would be subject to examination in Canada?

Mr. WASELIUS: Yes.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: And if any were found unfit you would transport them back free?

Mr. WASELIUS: No, a steamship company would not take a chance like that. They would be examined by our doctor in Gothenburg before boarding the ship.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: You have a considerable number of persons from Lithuania and such countries in Sweden at the present time?

Mr. WASELIUS: About 150,000 at the present time.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: They do not want to go back to their own countries?

Mr. WASELIUS: No.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Perhaps a considerable number of them will remain in Sweden?

Mr. WASELIUS: I suppose a great many will remain, but a large number may like to come to Canada.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Are they working now?

Mr. WASELIUS: I believe everybody is working now in Sweden.

Mr. HORNER: What type of people are they, agriculturists?

Mr. WASELIUS: I would say every type.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: In Norway, I suppose, although there is work, there has been such a great deal of destruction, with homes being wiped out, that many people would like to try life in a new country?

Mr. WASELIUS: The way I look at it is, they are so fed up in Norway that they would like to look for new opportunities.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Those Lithuanian and other peoples, the 150,000 whom you mentioned, would they have any means to bring with them?

Mr. WASELIUS: I suppose they have made pretty good money in Sweden, and they would have that money.

Hon. Mr. EULER: They would be able to maintain themselves?

Mr. WASELIUS: Yes.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Would some of them have brought money with them to Sweden?

Mr. WASELIUS: Maybe. But I can tell you of a lady who had property in Estonia and who, when the Russians invaded her country, fled to Sweden; and she came back from Sweden about three months ago penniless.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: They took everything from her?

Mr. WASELIUS: Yes. She said she could not even get the necessities; she just had to go the way she was.

Hon. Mr. DUPUIS: If I understood you correctly, you said you were looking to Czechoslovakia as a country from which there would be some immigrants to Canada?

Mr. WASELIUS: We have an office established in Prague, a general agent, and, of course, when we establish an office we do not establish it just for the sake of having an office, but we are looking for business.

Hon. Mr. DUPUIS: Your purpose is to find if some of those people from Czechoslovakia will emigrate to Canada?

Mr. WASELIUS: No. Our home office in Gothenburg is very familiar with what is going on in the different countries of Europe, so we can open up general agencies to assist prospective immigrants; but so far we really do not go after that business, because we cannot handle a great number of immigrants yet.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Do those countries impose any restrictions on the emigration of their people?

Mr. WASELIUS: So far I have not heard of any restrictions. They let the people come. The people that we have carried so far, however, are aliens who were stranded.

Hon. Mr. EULER: But are there any restrictions on the emigration of native people?

Mr. WASELIUS: We have had some of those come over too, and so far I have heard of no restrictions.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Can they take along their money, if they have any?

Mr. WASELIUS: That is something I cannot tell you, because we have had more of those people go to the States than to Canada. As a matter of fact, I have had only two coming to Canada. We reopened the office in Montreal on the 1st of February.

Hon. Mr. DUPUIS: I understood you to say that you established an office at Prague, Czechoslovakia, for the purpose of finding people who wanted to come here, yet in your brief you said that there are more than 150,000 displaced persons in Sweden and that most of them would like to come to Canada.

Mr. WASELIUS: I did not say that most of them would like to come here, sir; I said, some of them would. I would not know for sure how great a percentage of them would like to come, because I have not had an opportunity of finding out, but I presume that some of them would like to come. Of course they are making good money in Sweden now, and I do not see why many would care to leave.

Hon. Mr. DUPUIS: What is the population of Sweden?

Mr. WASELIUS: Approximately 7,000,000.

Hon. Mr. DUPUIS: Do you claim that those 150,000 displaced persons would stay in Sweden?

Mr. WASELIUS: Sweden is looking for workers right now. We have been trying to get labour from Denmark, with not very great success.

Hon. Mr. DUPUIS: There will not be any large numbers of Swedish people emigrating to Canada just yet?

Mr. WASELIUS: Not just yet.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: What would be the full number of passengers that you could carry in a year between Sweden and Halifax, if you could get all the business that you could handle

Mr. WASELIUS: On the two ships, say 2,500 a month. To get the number in a year, you would have to multiply that by twelve.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: So if we adopted a satisfactory and vigorous immigration policy and had our agents at the proper places in Scandinavia, you could transport to Halifax some 2,500 persons a month?

Mr. WASELIUS: I would not say exactly 2,500 immigrants, because that figure includes the cabin class and tourist class and third class. I would say that 90 per cent of all immigrants would travel third class. Our capacity for third class passengers is, say, 800 on one ship and 600 on the other.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: One would think that Sweden would have no difficulty in securing labour from among displaced persons in parts of Germany taken over by Poland and Russia. There must be large numbers of labourers available in Europe.

Mr. WASELIUS: Yes, there must be, but no doubt Sweden would rather look for workers among Scandinavians, who speak the same language. Take the Danes, for example; they are Scandinavians and speak the same language, but Poles and Ukrainians have a language that is quite different.

Hon. Mr. DUPUIS: What is the nationality of most of the 150,000 displaced persons now in Sweden?

Mr. WASELIUS: They came from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. A lot of Estonian people speak Swedish, but the Lithuanians and Latvians are altogether different.

Hon. Mr. DUPUIS: They are Slav?

Mr. WASELIUS: Yes.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Suppose the government of Canada established an immigration office in Sweden, what would be the source of information as to the past of would-be immigrants? Has Sweden investigated the records of those people?

Mr. WASELIUS: That would be more or less up to the Canadian immigration authorities.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Those people do not want to go back to their own countries, so what would be the source of information about them?

Mr. WASELIUS: The Canadian Immigration Department would open up offices in Europe. Let us say they investigate a case in Czechoslovakia and transportation cannot be obtained via an English line. All right, send the man by Sweden. If they have an office in Prague and the immigration officer there accepts a proposed immigrant, then of course he may come from Sweden.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Do you think the authorities in Czechoslovakia would be satisfied to have immigration officers from Canada go there to find out about proposed immigrants who are already in Sweden?

Mr. WASELIUS: I do not mean that they would be already in Sweden.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: I am speaking about the 150,000 now in Sweden. What is the possibility of getting information on their past?

The CHAIRMAN: It would be difficult to get their past history, I presume?

Mr. WASELIUS: That would be very difficult.

Hon. Mr. EULER: In addition to the 150,000 from Lithuania and the other small republics, have you any displaced persons in Sweden who came in from Germany?

Mr. WASELIUS: Yes, I understand so. I have not been over to Sweden since peace was declared, but I understand there are quite a number of Jewish people in the country.

Hon. Mr. EULER: You have no information on that?

Mr. WASELIUS: I would not like to commit myself, but I understand there are quite a number of Jewish people from Poland and other countries.

Hon. Mr. EULER: I am thinking of the Germans who were driven out from East Prussia and so on.

Mr. WASELIUS: I would not know about that.

Hon. Mr. DUPUIS: Do you mean to say that a large number of the 150,000 displaced persons in Sweden are Jewish?

Mr. WASELIUS: No, not at all; but in addition to those 150,000 there are some Jewish refugees, and I understand that some of them are kept in separate camps.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: The 150,000 are people who do not wish to go back to live under the system of government they had in their own countries?

Mr. WASELIUS: I do not think they would like to go back.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Can it be taken for granted the majority of the 150,000 displaced persons in Sweden are not Communists, and that that is the reason they left their own countries or do not want to return to them?

Mr. WASELIUS: That is it. They left those countries because they are not Communists. So far as I know from my own experience—and I have been with the Line for 15 years right here in Montreal—Estonians make good immigrants, and I have never seen anything wrong with Latvians and Lithuanians.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: We had some experience in Canada with political refugees from the United States after the revolution. The United Empire Loyalists made pretty good immigrants.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Possibly, Mr. Waselius, those people you mentioned would be of the wealthy class, and people with considerable property.

Mr. WASELIUS: They would be in business, but I do not believe they could get their assets out of the country.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: I can believe that, but they were people that had the property and it was taken away from them. I would imagine they would be the type of person who would wish to own his own home and that sort of thing.

Mr. WASELIUS: I believe that if they had a chance to come to Canada most of them would make very good citizens, and everyone of them would like to become Canadian Citizens as soon as their five-year period was up.

Hon. Mr. EULER: Would they be agriculturists?

Mr. WASELIUS: I do not know exactly how big a percentage of the 150,000 are agriculturists. But let us look at it this way: the wealthy class in some countries of course were not Communists nor were the agriculturists and the workers. There was not much Communism in the Baltic States anyway.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Waselius, you have presented a very intelligent brief and we wish to thank you.

Mr. WASELIUS: Thank you, Senator Roebuck.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Chairman, we have with us Mr. Stewart Bates, Deputy Director General of Economic Research in our own Department of Reconstruction and Supply, who has, after considerable investigation, prepared a brief. I am sure we will find Mr. Bates' presentation interesting.

**Mr. Stewart Bates, Deputy Director General of Economic Research,
Department of Reconstruction and Supply.**

Mr. Chairman and honourable senators, I have a brief here, which I have entitled "Canadian Economic Progress and Immigration." With your permission I will proceed to read it.

In presenting to the Senate Committee a statement on immigration policy, I wish to make clear at the outset that I am expressing personal views and not those of the Minister or of the Government.

In formulating these views I have been greatly helped by my colleagues in the Economic Research branch of the Department of Reconstruction and Supply. This branch was set up more than a year ago to help to analyze current economic conditions and to make more detailed inquiries into the factors determining the levels of employment and income. Immigration policy has not been the subject of special study in the branch but our analyses of the course of industrial development, of wartime economic changes and of the factors affecting demobilization and re-employment, have raised implications for immigration policy.

I should add that the following statement is confined to the economic aspects of immigration. I am aware that political, social and cultural aspects are equally important, but I confine myself to the economic side of the question.

One phase of the immigration question that I may be allowed to pass by is the Refugee one. This is an immediate matter, of an international sort, already under consideration by the United Nations Economic Council. In these deliberations, the humanitarian aspect will probably take precedence over economic or other aspects. In this statement, however, no special attention will be given to refugee problems. Later in this statement reference is made to the fact that many of our previous immigrants who achieved success were young people (ages 12 to 20) who came here with their parents, and who were able to adjust themselves to Canadian conditions and possibilities. This factor, along with the more recent history of "refugee industries" in Canada, discussed later in this statement, are among those that may be said to have particular relevance to the consideration of refugees and displaced persons as suitable immigrants.

IMMIGRATION IN OUR PRESENT ECONOMIC POSITION.

It will be recalled that the whole economic expansion of this continent has been closely related to, and indeed dependent upon, immigration. In our own history in this century, the opening of the west and the industrialization in the east were both stimulated and made possible by a large influx of immigrants. We are now, however, at a new stage in our economic development, and our needs now are different from those in the past. Likewise we have experienced during the 1930's the crisis of more men than jobs, which changed men's minds on the matter of immigration. That experience not merely crowded out the debt we owed to immigrants, but created among many a positive aversion to immigration. In the depression it appeared that we had to keep out the goods from other countries, and also to keep out the people, and this attitude was common to most

countries. We may sum this up by saying that the change in our economic position, and the experiences in the 1930's, have altered and reduced the demand for immigrants on this continent.

The supply of immigrants is also changed in form and numbers since the early part of the century. It is true that to-day the refugees and displaced persons form a ready supply available for migration to almost any area that will accord them a haven. But apart from that group, the supply of migrants has probably dwindled, particularly from western and north-western Europe. The decline in immigration to this continent during the 1920's and 1930's was not entirely due to immigration policies and possibilities on this side it was partly due also to the decline in the supply of migrants.

Thus, although our record for immigrants is different in volume and in kind from what it was early in the century, the ability to find immigrants of the kind we might want, is also reduced. Any country desiring immigrants—apart from the refugee group already mentioned—has to adopt special techniques to find the required types and numbers, as is shown in the particular steps being taken at present by the Dominion of Australia, and mentioned again later in this statement.

Reference has been made above to our economic needs, and this is the matter which to us seems to merit consideration. Immigration policy, like any other policy, has to be considered against the changing pattern of our economy.

Our economic pattern has been changing gradually towards greater industrialization. The recent war greatly hastened that process. The increased diversification of our industrial structure proved us more capable of development than the era of the 1930's could have foreseen. The result has been a reduced dependence on agriculture for the provision of the large share of our national income. In 1919 agriculture was still our most important industry in terms of commodity values: it contributed 44 per cent to the total, as against 33 per cent for manufacturing. By 1939 this position was almost reversed, with manufacturing accounting for 39 per cent. When wartime industrial production reached its peak in 1943, manufacturing accounted for 54 per cent of the total, while agriculture made up only 20 per cent. Put in other terms, during the war, our gross production rose from \$5 billion (1938) to over \$11 billion (1945), and in achieving this we devised new industrial processes, new plants, and new skills among our people. The war rapidly threw us up to new levels of industrial diversification, and to accompany new high levels of employment and income.

If high income and employment are to be maintained in the difficult post-war years ahead of us, this process of diversification must be maintained and expanded.

Before discussing the problem of industrial diversification, a note may be inserted on the agricultural position. While the proportion that agriculture contributes to our total income has been declining, its share is still vital to our economy. The proportional decline does not mean any absolute decline. Since the last war, there has been an agricultural revolution on this continent, and elsewhere, marked by a great increase in farm technology. Even during the war, when farm labour was greatly reduced, output was well maintained, and even increased—indicating that there had been previous surplus employment in agriculture. It is to be expected that the improvements in farm technology will continue for some time into the future, and that their application will become more extensive, and more widely diffused both within this country and between countries. In short it is likely that the efficiency of agricultural production will continue to increase, and that its output can be achieved with smaller resources. This fact should be considered alongside the supply situation: the present shortages in foodstuffs may begin turning to surplus by 1950.

These facts suggest that from a national point of view, it is unlikely that there will be any pressing need for new agricultural settlement in Canada. Estimates made within recent years suggest that some 25,000 immigrant settlers might be placed on the farms in Northern Ontario, Alberta and central British Columbia.⁽¹⁾ It is true of course that much of the land classified as submarginal by Canadian standards, would be higher in quality than that being farmed in other countries, but encouragement to such subsistence or peasant farming in Canada hardly seems desirable on any large scale at present. The government may, however, regard the available agricultural settlements as a useful means towards the assistance of certain types of refugees.

Nationally therefore there appears to be no strong case for the federal government exerting early efforts of policy or administration towards any large-scale agricultural immigration. Most of the lands, however, are now in the hands of the provincial governments, some of which may wish to push rural community development. If that were so, one would expect the federal government to permit entry to those agricultural immigrants selected by the provinces. But conditions do not suggest the desirability of the federal government itself actively encouraging any big immigration of agriculturists.

On the other hand conditions do suggest the need for attending to the developing process of industrialization. We have mentioned the war as a foreign-ground of our industrialization, and have indicated its effects on income and employment. To-day as compared to the pre-war years, the gross national product is running near the \$11 billion level, as against \$5 billions in 1938, and almost 1,000,000 more people are now in employment. But this has been achieved in unique conditions, under the driving-force of government expenditures. As this government stimulus declines (and for 1946 government outlay will be about \$1 billion less than in 1945), private stimuli must take its place if the level of income and employment are not to decline also. Investment by private industry, full realization of our export opportunities and satisfactory levels of domestic consumption must all serve to foster enterprise, as government expenditure declines to its post-war levels.

At present we have entered the transition. Meanwhile the export trade is buoyant—but it is being supported to the extent of \$1 billion by our federal foreign loan programme, and we have to look forward to it being financed by the proceeds of private trade and private investment. In the domestic economy, private industry is presently engaged on as much investment as material shortages permit. There remains a heavy backlog of consumer demand. Generally buoyant conditions exist—except to the extent that the reconversion and expansion is further delayed by critical strikes or other deterrents.

In the near future, however, the economy will have to rely increasingly on the enterprise and initiative of the private, as distinct from the public, sector. As the government outlay declines further, the economy will depend on its competitive ability in home and overseas markets. Business management and labour will be increasingly called upon to apply their best knowledge and energy to securing high levels of efficiency, to strengthening Canada's competitive ability and thereby to maintaining steadier production and high income for the nation as a whole. It is the skill and resourcefulness of management and labour that is needed now to achieve the industrial innovations and efficiencies necessary for retaining and expanding our industrial status.

Since the maintenance of the levels of employment and income achieved during the war depends on the replacement of war industries and trades by peace-time ones, attention has to be more definitely focussed on industrial diversification. It is not so much in the expansion of the primary industries, but rather in the field of manufacture, services, and distribution, both at home and abroad,

⁽¹⁾ W. B. Hurd: Report on Agricultural Settlement Possibilities in Canada (p. 315).

that we have to seek the steadier and higher levels of income and employment. Such a development turns on special types of initiative and enterprise. It depends on the quality of our scientists, professionals, managers, technicians and skilled labour. It is their intelligence, imagination, and resourcefulness that ultimately determine our economic welfare. It is true that the great primary industries remain basic, that they provide essential foods and raw materials. However, the maintenance of the present levels of national income depend on improved utilization of the known resources, and this utilization depends on how man applies himself. It is on men not nature that we have to rely for the discovery of new products or new processes, for reorganizing methods of production, for finding the best methods of distribution, and for making the industrial innovations and adaptations on which economic progress depends. In our stage of economic development, we do not require many more farmers or fishermen: at the moment we may need more miners and loggers. But our great need is for entrepreneurs who can find new uses for our resources and skills, for professional and scientific technicians to apply themselves to social and scientific development, for certain types of skilled artisans who can carry through industrial procedures in the most efficient ways. Of these types, as well as of certain kinds of heavy labour, Canada is short in relation to her potentials. To make fuller use of our resources and investment possibilities in the many fields of private endeavour, some import of brains and skills may be helpful.

No nation in the modern world is likely to have too much industrial wisdom, imagination or energy. In our case, where we have recently experienced a sudden war industrial expansion, there is a presumption that part of that expansion may be only temporary. Some of our new or expanded industries have still to be tested in the heat of international competition, which may be expected to reveal some soft spots in our structure—industries whose costs were acceptable in war but may prove excessive in open competition in the home or foreign markets, labour whose productivity does not measure up to that of competitive countries, managements whose enterprise is not sufficient to thwart bankruptcy. Some such revelations will be made in the future. It is desirable that they be kept at a minimum, or that if they are inevitable, the employment and income which is thereby lost should be replaced by some other industrial developments. It is for these reasons that stress is laid on our need for skills—to provide us with the technical and economic efficiency that can withstand competition and can maintain our income and employment. Our supply of such skills is not over-abundant: in part they can be increased by more vigorous training of native-born Canadians: in part they can be preserved by offering such inducements as will reduce the export of native skills to the United States. In that country the rewards for efficiency have been so high as to drain away much of our native skilled labour and managerial talent. This loss alone has contributed, and still contributes, to our shortage of those who can spearhead the efficiency of enterprise and labour.

These shortages of men were revealed during the war, and were the inevitable result of our sudden industrial expansion. By its nature it outran the supply of certain types of personnel, and certain gaps appeared among producers. They were found in the managerial and professional classes; they existed in technical and scientific groups; they were acute within the ranks of certain skilled craftsmen. Some occupations seemed to have a "missing age-group"—occupations that had been hit hard by the long depression and into which few new entrants had come in the 1930's. These gaps were not confined to producers, in the narrow sense of that term. The rapid industrial growth for a war market, if it is to be replaced by industries serving peace demands, will raise important questions of distributing products, both in the domestic and export trades. The organization and methods of marketing will also call for basic changes as compared to pre-war methods.

It is against the background of these considerations that attention may be given to the case for selective rounding-out of the Canadian population.

SELECTIVE IMMIGRATION

In our present stage of economic development, there seems to be a case for importing training, experience and ability. Such a concept of selective immigration is of course different from the immigration concepts of the past, when mere numbers seemed the most important criterion—either for letting people in, or keeping them out. To-day we have to attend to the quality of the population, and its ability to maximize the use of its resources, and those of other countries (by importing certain materials and re-exporting them in other forms). It is in this connection that selective immigration, forming part of an overall program of national development, may be envisaged. The import into Canada during the early war years of certain "refugee" industries, provides a ready example of the expanded diversification of our industries, and points to the gains that may be made by properly selected immigration.

Figures for 1944 (and these are not complete) show that at least 56 manufacturing firms were operated by refugees. In addition these immigrants have set up wholesale and exporting companies, while individual scientists and technicians have contributed to development by discovery of new processes and by the application of knowledge they brought with them. In many instances these men had sufficient capital to establish themselves and develop successful enterprises. They brought skills not used hitherto in Canada, and produced goods never manufactured here. In some cases they have brought foreign trading connections. The competent export house with established world connections, the export broker who provides the link between manufacturers (especially small ones) and foreign buyers, is a European institution not yet fully utilized in Canada.

The 56 firms we happen to know of, employed 6,000 persons in 1944, and paid out almost \$10 million in salaries and wages. Thirteen of the firms were employing over 100 persons each. They were in the aircraft industry, meat packing, lumber boats and shoes, fine leather gloves, hand-printed silk, pottery, chemicals, etc. Outside manufacturing, some refugees have started construction companies; there is a town-planning firm, a firm exporting to 50 different countries; in addition there are the chemists, professors, artists, etc.

This reference is probably sufficient to indicate something of what can be achieved in terms of greater industrialization by the import of training, experience and ability. Immigrants who bring in capital, or productive or professional skills, or who bring in experience or connections in export trades, create directly and indirectly demand for Canadian labour, materials and services (transport, etc.). In Canada, there are great opportunities for processing our raw materials (and imports) into finished consumer goods, but we are short of the fabricating facilities for this purpose. Immigrant managerial, technical, industrial and distributive skills might be able to make a substantial contribution to the further consolidation of the industrial progress that was achieved in war. Such immigration can contribute to industrial efficiency, and the country receiving such persons gains their skills, aptitudes and human resources at no cost to herself.

To-day in western and northern Europe, many persons of this type may be willing to migrate. Canada's attractions to such persons are considerable, and may exceed those of other Dominions. Our propinquity to the United States, our relatively good access to world trade routes, our potentials in industrial development, are all relatively significant attractions.

Our present economic position seems to put the emphasis on our need for key personnel, for men who can do new things with our resources and potentials, or who can do old things in new, more effective ways. This emphasis on

training and ability does not of course preclude the need for keeping some balance between types of immigrants. Further training of native-born Canadians, or even the maintenance of high levels of income, may leave us short of other types of labour (heavy labour, or domestic servants, etc.). Some occupational balance among immigrants would therefore be necessary, but one can hardly exaggerate the significance of skills that increase the productivity of management, its efficiency in organizing production and distribution, or skills that can improve the utilization of our potentials.

While a case can be made for selective immigration, the attitude of mind that was created during the depression years, may be more inclined to search for the dangers inherent in such immigration, particularly the risk of unemployment in the labour market.

In considering these disadvantages, it is not likely that any flooding of the labour market will occur through selective immigration. Our need at this particular time is not for a large volume of settlers, and immigration on the old scale is not now in question. Anyway, in the past, as the Dominion Bureau of Statistics has shown, we have taken in some 6 million settlers (since 1880). But over the same period 5½ million emigrants left Canada, mainly for the United States. Since 1880 therefore net immigration appears to have added little to our population, and our growth has been due mainly to the natural increase. If we look further at the immigrant males—which is the most significant figure when thinking of the labour market—they averaged only 111,400 per year in 1911-20, fell to 61,500 per year in the period 1921-30, and were down to the insignificant figure of 4,100 males per year in 1931-40. Right up to 1930, when immigration became merely a trickle, almost 75 per cent of these males were farmers and labourers. It is true that some time after agricultural settlement many of these males may have changed their occupation and moved to urban areas. But as immigrants there is little statistical evidence in the period as a whole to suggest that they did much to flood the labour market. Their main contribution (in terms of numbers) has been to offset the emigrant loss to the United States. It is noteworthy that this loss is evident again in 1946, particularly in the professions and skilled groups. Selective immigration may again have to be called on to help offset the loss of training and ability to which the Canadian economy is particularly prone.

Previous immigration cannot have had much to do with the flooding of the home labour market. The unemployment which has been experienced is not particularly caused by the size of the labour force (which includes managers, professions, etc.). Nor is the maintaining of a small labour force an insurance against unemployment—insurance against the misfortune is not so easily bought. Unemployment stems, not from numbers, but from maladjustments within the national economy, or within the international economy. This is not the place to discuss the causes of unemployment, but since selective immigration may help to remove them, a short reference to the causes is necessary.

- (1) There will be unemployment if effective demand for the products of labour—both home and foreign demand—is not sufficient to use the whole labour force.
- (2) There will be unemployment if demand, though adequate in total, is not in alignment with the products being made by the labour force.
- (3) There will be unemployment if industry is so organized that it carries excessive reserves of labour, or if there are obstacles which prevent labour from following changes in demand.

Selective immigration, adding somewhat to the total population can hardly be said to contribute to these causes, but rather to assist in their alleviation. Newcomers, it is true, augment and supplement the labour force, but they also

raise domestic demand for the products of labour. An extension of our domestic market, combined with greater diversification of our products, would lessen to some degree our dependence on foreign markets. Some of our great export products are highly vulnerable to international conditions, and any increase in domestic population, and increased manufacture of raw into finished goods, helps to reduce this vulnerability. We are not referring to such increases in population as would make us self-sufficient: the estimated five-fold increase in home population necessary to consume our export surplus, is out of the question in the immediate future. But even modest increases in home population can give significant added degrees of stability to industries now primarily dependent on export.

A larger domestic market would carry some further advantages. Some industries and services would operate on larger scale, and might thereby effect some cost-reductions. An increase in population would lesson our "overheads" (per capita debt charges, fixed transport charges, fixed government expenditures, etc.) We might expect also that an expansion or increase in diversification of local industries and services would, by increasing the occupational opportunities at home, go part way to discouraging the emigration of high calibre native-born Canadians.

With respect to the maladjustments that create unemployment, immigration of the kind referred to in this statement, should assist in their correction. The aim is a more balanced economy, with special emphasis on the need for efficiency and increased enterprise. It is skill and enterprise that are the main combatants to the maladjustments and obstacles that stand in the way of steady employment; it is through skill and resourcefulness that men achieve the most appropriate institutional structures—whether governmental or industrial—and it is on these skills also that we have to depend for improvements in technique, for cost-reducing innovations, for reorganization of production and distribution, and for finding new sources of materials or markets for finished goods. These are the methods of reaching high employment and income, and they all depend on the quality and enterprising spirit of the people. Towards this, selective immigration has a chance of contributing. If we assume that Canada is an advanced economy, there would still be need of enterprise merely to maintain the status quo: if we assume that Canada still has accomplishments ahead of her in industrialization, the need for enterprise is still greater.

CONCLUSIONS FOR CONSIDERATION OF POLICY.

Some of the conclusions of these remarks may help to show what would be feasible and consistent steps in carrying out an immigration policy in the near future.

In the past various criteria have been used in formulating our immigration policy, but to-day two criteria seem to stand out. One is our economic needs, and the other the suitability and availability of immigrants capable of supplying our needs.

Economic Needs. To strengthen and solidify the industrial base in the country, the evidence suggests the desirability of importing training, experience and ability. The value of such import will tend to be greatest in the case of industrialists, merchants, technicians (professional included) and craftsmen. These groups can contribute most to efficiency and development.

Secondly, other industrial groups like heavy labour, domestic servants, etc., may also be necessary. Just as the emigration of highly skilled native-born persons to the United States has left us with gaps in the first group, the recent upgrading of the occupational status of Canadians now leaves gaps in this second group.

Thirdly, it seems that some attention should be given to the import of young people—perhaps in the refugee groups. In the past many of our successful immi-

grants came to Canada as young people (with parents usually) and they proved very able to adjust themselves to Canadian conditions and possibilities. The government might wish to consider the encouragement of this type of immigrant. They might have to be trained and cared for under special administrative provisions. The evidence of the post history of Canadian immigration suggests that the attention of this Committee be drawn to young people as an immigrant group, and to the present availability of young persons in Europe seeking a home and an opportunity to live a good life.

Suitability of Immigrants. The training, experience and ability, as indicated above, perhaps may set the first line of qualifications, although the national, ethnic and cultural background of immigrants would have to be given its proper weight. If a given immigration target were established at so many immigrants per year, attention might be focussed first on the training and ability of applicants. This factor in itself, to some extent, conditions the priorities of the ethnic groups from which the types should be sought, because the types of immigrants required are to be found primarily in certain national states, preferably those in western and northern Europe.

The considerations suggest that three steps may be necessary if a policy has to be prepared.

- (1) The determination of the type of people we consider most necessary and most suitable for the future economic and social development of Canada. Some indication of an answer to this is to be found in the above paragraphs.
- (2) The countries where these types are to be found have to be determined. These countries are likely to be those most akin to Canada in way of life, both political and economic, and these are preferably in western and northern Europe. The particular skills and types required should presumably be sought first in those countries whose ethnic types have in the past proved most assimilable to Canadian conditions.
- (3) If selective immigration were accepted as a policy, administrative machinery would have to be set up to achieve the selection and the goal, because migrants of the types referred to above are not necessarily in large supply. The governments of some of these countries may not willingly allow emigration of such persons—apart from the refugee groups. In addition Canada might have to face the competition of other countries for such migrants.

In an administrative way, therefore, the first necessity would be to ascertain what the potential sources of supply are—how many of the required types might be found, and the countries in which they are to be found, etc. With such knowledge, the technique of recruiting and selecting immigrants can be worked out, and that technique may have to be varied to meet the different conditions in the several countries. Recruiting probably involves inter-governmental agreements in the first instance, publicity in certain centres, and personal contact by overseas personnel competent to secure the attention of the migrants with the qualifications desired.

In considering policy and administrative techniques, some consideration should be given to the development in the Commonwealth of Australia. That Dominion may have greater requirements in terms of numbers than does Canada, and her policy may therefore be deemed somewhat more expansionist than is required in Canada. Nevertheless the example is worthy of consideration.

Australia has been the most active Dominion in seeking immigrants, and planning for immigration has resulted in a separate ministry to carry it through.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Will you excuse an interruption please? It is only very recently that Australia has been active in immigration matters.

Mr. BATES: Well she is now active in seeking immigrants, and she has in the years past considered the policy necessary. Her policy has been under consideration from the early stages of the war.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Yes, but it has not been over a long-range period?

Mr. BATES: That is correct. I have had a memorandum on the Australian immigration policy prepared, which I can distribute to the members if they wish. It covers also a summary of a report made by Australia as to the possibilities for getting immigrants from various European countries. It has a brief survey of each country.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: We should like to have that document.

Mr. BATES: I can distribute it at the end of my paper.

(See Appendix A.)

The full implementation of the official government policy¹ on immigration has been delayed due to housing shortages and lack of adequate shipping space to bring settlers to Australia. Nevertheless, certain concrete measures have been taken on the part of the government. An agreement² has been reached with the United Kingdom to provide free passage for British ex-service personnel and their dependents, and assisted passage for other suitable British citizens, to become effective when shipping accommodation is available. The Minister for Immigration has suggested that the shipping bottleneck might be eased through the release of some of the liberty ships by the United States.³ The Australian Government is planning a publicity campaign in all potential immigration centres, and already material is being distributed in England to meet the tremendous demand for information about Australia and the possibilities of settlement there. In recognition of the fact that many of the countries of Europe will be the source of future settlers, a survey has been carried out in certain European countries to secure data on the numbers of prospective migrants and the reaction of governments, employers, trade unions, and the people themselves toward the migration problem. As a direct stimulus to industrial development, the Commonwealth is planning to encourage the removal of manufacturing plants (together with personnel) from Great Britain and the European continent, and will also try to bring in, as soon as possible, certain classified workers not now obtainable in the Dominion. Australia would appear to be well ahead of Canada in the field of immigration planning.

The Australian Government has set its ceiling at 70,000 persons per year. In Canada the steps to be taken in formulating a target cannot be precisely defined, any more than we can define the number of lawyers, merchants, etc., that we need in any given year. At present, moreover, the shortage of shipping, and the housing situation both seem to act as impediments to any realization of a target, although shipping will ease in 1947, and housing need not be the final determinant of immigration policy, if other conditions appear to merit action.

While it is difficult to state the economic needs for immigrants with precision, an experimental target could be set up for, say, five years, and could be subject to modification according to results, either within the experimental period or at its end. During this period the results of the policy could be carefully surveyed, and the history of the immigrant himself kept under surveillance to judge of the process of economic assimilation. In the beginning this target could be set in terms of past history. It could readily be larger than during the 1930's when only some 4,000 males were coming in annually; and it should

¹ A ministerial statement on the Australian Government's immigration policy was issued on August 2nd, 1945. For a summary of Australian policy, see Appendix A.

² See statement of the Honourable Arthur A. Calwell, M.H.R. Minister for Immigration, on 5th March, 1946.

³ For a more complete treatment of Australian immigration policy see appendix.

perhaps be smaller than during the 1920's, when over 60,000 males came in annually. The adult immigrant target could be set between these limits for the opening of the experimental target, at perhaps 30,000 or 40,000 adult entrants annually, giving preference to those with training, experience and ability, in those countries whose ethnic groups appear to have the greatest power of assimilation in Canada. Within the total, the overseas offices would presumably extend efforts towards attracting industrialists and merchants (who carry with them employment-creating qualities), towards attracting professional scientists, technicians and craftsmen of the kinds most suited to our conditions. With these new citizens would come their families and dependents—the admission of the latter being already covered in our legislation.

Beyond the target for adults set up, the government might in addition take in a certain quota of refugee children for training and settlement.

The success of such a selective immigrant policy, even during the experimental period, would depend largely on the energetic administration of overseas offices set up to recruit and select immigrants. If the experiment were to be watched carefully, part of the administrative technique would have to cover the care and assimilation of the immigrant within Canada itself.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: That is a splendid brief, Mr. Bates.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: You mentioned the high production maintained by farmers during the war while so many men were overseas. That high production will certainly not continue. There is evidence of a great falling off in the production of bacon right now. Many farmers who were at the retiring age kept on working during the war, but they are dropping out now and are not all being replaced. You do not need to go more than fifty miles from Ottawa to see vacant farms, with all the necessary buildings, where in the past large families were raised without any assistance from the government. In western Canada a good many people are operating farms and living in the cities; they get in their cars and drive out to the farms every morning. I do not see any prospect of Canada holding her trained men here; they will naturally go to the country which has the larger population. What we need is not a few thousand extra people, but many millions, and if we could get them we might have some hope of holding our young men here. There is any amount of vacant land here, and we have no moral or Christian right to keep it vacant and force people to raise a family on two or three acres in other countries. That is a narrow-minded policy for us. The United States built itself up into a great nation by admitting large numbers of immigrants, and now our young men are attracted over there by the larger salaries.

Our railroads run by thousands of acres of vacant land. Not long ago I was out driving with a European and we were passing a farm of four or five hundred acres, where a man was batching it. The European said to me, "Five hundred people in my country would make a good living off that land." I said, "you mean perhaps thirty or forty, not five hundred." He said "No, I mean five hundred." The man who was running that farm did not know how to farm, and so was not making the best use of the land.

On the trains and everywhere else you meet young people who were raised on the farm, and you ask them if they are going back to the farm. They say "No." The government made some preparations to encourage young people to go back to the farms, but the response has been disappointing. We had a labour leader before us who took the view that men should do less and less work. But how could we export agricultural products if our farmers decided they would raise only enough for their own needs and to keep the prices up? Everybody cannot stop working until he gets just the kind of job that suits him. That is a Utopian condition. I want to say again that the great agricul-

tural production to which you referred will not be continued, because many farmers have reached the retiring age and are not being replaced by younger men.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: If I understand you correctly, one of your arguments is that in recent years the industrialization of farms has enabled farmers to produce more goods although employing less help than formerly. Is that right?

Mr. BATES: Yes.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Then how could an immigrant without means operate a farm in competition with a neighbour well equipped with machinery and implements? I am not objecting to your argument, I am just trying to follow it.

Mr. BATES: Of course, the question is somewhat different as between different branches of agriculture. In chicken farming, for example, the degree of mechanization is very small. The immigrant with little capital has a better chance perhaps to succeed in that type of farming than in a highly mechanized type, such as wheat farming.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: But you will admit that even chicken farming has been industrialized. New inventions have been applied to it, and new structures and better management than in the past.

Mr. BATES: But the possibilities of reducing the man-power by machinery are less on that type of farm.

Hon. Mrs. WILSON: In Connecticut, which I visited recently, many farms that had been abandoned have been taken over by Poles and Italians, who are doing a splendid business and bringing back prosperity to certain areas. They do a wonderful business as market gardeners on fairly small holdings, as the New York market is accessible to them. Native-born Americans were unable to make a success of those small farms. These people who have come in there seem to have an affection for the land.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: Many of those people with nothing but a cradle and an ox to thrash the grain out would make a success of farming.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: In Europe, as we know, the farms are quite small compared with those in our West. An immigrant who went onto one of our big western farms would be absolutely lost if he had no capital to buy machinery and had to depend on farm hands.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: You can take any group, native-born or immigrants, and there will be some failures among them, just as there are in families. One member of a family may be successful, but his brother may have to be assisted by the government. If you bring in immigrants, a certain proportion of them will make good. They may have to work out for some years in western Canada until they get the necessary experience and save some money, and then they will get farms of their own. At least, they used to be able to do that years ago. In those days, when men were supposed to pay their debts, they could borrow enough money so that when added to their savings they had enough to buy a farm.

Hon. Mr. BURCHILL: When a Canadian immigration policy is being formulated, where do the provinces come in? Your paper has raised that question in my mind, Mr. Bates. Would they not have to be consulted? I am not inquiring whether our constitution would require that they be consulted, but I am looking at the thing in a practical way. Would they not have to be asked how many immigrants they could absorb? Down in New Brunswick, we have Crown lands that are open for settlement; there is provincial legislation covering them. If a broad Canadian immigration policy were being drawn up, would the Federal Government not have to inquire of the New Brunswick government, for instance, how many farmers could be used in that province?

Hon. Mr. HORNER: I believe you are quite right, Senator.

Hon. Mr. BURCHILL: Would the Federal Government not have to discuss the matter with all the provinces?

Mr. BATES: If the Federal Government regarded it as desirable that there be an increase in agricultural immigrants, since the lands are controlled by the provinces there would be a prime necessity of discussing with them that part of the policy. So far as agricultural immigration is concerned, I think you must have prior discussion with the provinces. It is not true of industrial immigration.

Hon. Mr. BURCHILL: No; but you mentioned the lands owned by the provinces.

Mr. BATES: That is why I was making the point that they would have to be consulted.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Bates has called attention to the desirability of admitting skilled immigrants of the managerial class who might add to our capacity to employ labour, and in that way gradually develop our industrial resources and give rise to a greater local market and a more balanced economy.

The CHAIRMAN: Senator Roebuck, Mr. Bates has also presented us with a document which is marked "Appendix A," and deals with the Australian immigration policy.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Let us have it placed on the record, without asking Mr. Bates to read it.

The CHAIRMAN: Then we will put it on the record without reading it.

(See Appendix A)

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Mr. Chairman, there are one or two other matters I should bring before the committee at this time. Mr. Marshall, the Dominion Statistician, in his remarks before the committee yesterday referred to an article in the *Journal of Farm Economics*. He has forwarded to me a copy of this article entitled "Post-War Agricultural Settlement Possibilities in Canada". I think the document should be included in the record.

(See Appendix B)

I have also a letter from Mr. R. McC. Walker of 26 Rowanwood Avenue, Toronto, enclosing a one-page memorandum on immigration. This document, I believe, should also be included in the record, but may I read a paragraph from it. This is the paragraph:—

It is suggested that Canada initiate an immigration movement, sponsored by the Federal government, offering permanent asylum in this country to the children of Europe of under 10 years of age who have suffered, are suffering and will always suffer as a result of the war, for which they can in no way be held responsible.

Further that these children be housed as far as possible with those Canadians who would be prepared to adopt them, and the remainder in the military camps which could be turned into government nurseries and schools.

(See Appendix C)

Hon. Mr. DAVID: That system existed before when we had the Barnardo schools.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: The scheme of the Barnardo boys had doubtful success.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: From my knowledge of them it was very successful.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Does that system exist now?

Hon. Mr. ROBINSON: Yes, in England.

The CHAIRMAN: They have an office in Toronto yet.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: In the early part of the war it was suggested that we bring a thousand refugee children from France. We were prepared to do that, but Hitler took over and he would not let them go.

The CHAIRMAN: A great many came to Canada but have gone back since the war.

Hon. Mr. ROEBUCK: Those were children of our English friends who came here to live with us in a very temporary way, and homes were opened up to them as a war measure. The thousand refugees from France were actual orphans and would have remained here permanently.

Hon. Mr. HORNER: I heard a very interesting lecture recently on the history of the Barnardo Homes. It appears that the number who came to Canada was 50,000; they followed various occupations and many have become mayors of large cities in Canada, members of the House of Commons and even members of the Senate. I have personal knowledge of several children who came out under that scheme and who had to work very hard when they were thirteen years of age. I know of one Ontario lad who has become warden of his county and is a very respected citizen in the whole community. He had a very hard home, because he went to the lumber camps when thirteen years of age for the family who adopted him, but he has made a great success.

Hon. Mr. DAVID: Were those children who came out under the auspices of the Barnardo Homes, English orphans?

Hon. Mr. HORNER: I think they were. The lecturer of whom I speak told the story of how Dr. Barnardo, a young Irishman, while walking through the streets of London found fourteen children living under a tin shed. He made what we would call a radical speech to a banquet and told of these children. They challenged his statement, and as a result half a dozen people started out to walk the streets of London in their evening clothes. They found not only fourteen children, but seventy. Dr. Barnardo then got some support for the movement which he started.

The Committee adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, August 1, at 10.30 a.m.

APPENDIX A

AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION POLICY

(*Appendix to Brief presented by Mr. Stewart Bates*)

Australia has so far been the most active British Dominion in her endeavour to develop a positive expansionist immigration policy. The government recognizes an urgent need for more people both for reasons of defence and for the fullest expansion of her economy. With a population of about 7,000,000 people, an area of about 3,000,000 square miles, the density of her population is only 2·5 persons per square mile. Great sections of the land are uninhabitable but in the more favourably situated parts, much development and settlement have yet to be undertaken. Assuming that the economy is fully expanded, Australia has placed a migration ceiling at 70,000 persons a year. The attraction of new immigrants of a desirable type to Australia is not considered likely to be an easy task. The birth-rate in Britain and in other European countries has been declining to such an extent that the governments of these countries will not be included to encourage their nationals to emigrate. At home, there are three matters of major importance that have to be settled before any organized plan of large-scale immigration is possible. The first of these is the demobilization, rehabilitation and re-employment of men and women in the Australian fighting forces. The second is the provision of additional houses to meet the demands of an increasing population. The third is the provision of adequate shipping to bring new citizens to Australia under reasonably comfortable circumstances.

PRESENT POLICY

Although a period up to two years after the war will probably elapse before organized immigration can be resumed on a big scale, Australia does not intend to let the opportunity go by for securing the attention of possible migrants and fostering their desire to come to Australia. The government intends to embark on an adequate publicity campaign in Great Britain and in other centres of potential immigration on the European continent. The programme is designed to inform the people about Australia's expanded immigration programme and explain the causes of inevitable delays. Already material is being distributed in Britain in response to the flood of inquiries about settlement possibilities in the Commonwealth. During the reconstruction period, persons resident in Australia who desire to bring their families from Great Britain will be encouraged to do so. Workers with skills not available in Australia who could help to create jobs for other immigrants will be welcome. With regard to the migration of citizens from the British Commonwealth and the United States, Australia maintains an "open door" policy for those who can establish themselves upon arrival.

So that there will be no delay in resuming migration when economic circumstances make it possible, arrangements have recently been made between the United Kingdom and Commonwealth governments to further British migration to Australia. Free passage will be extended to British ex-service personnel and their dependents. Application may be made at any time not later than two years from the date of release from service, or two years from the date on which the scheme comes into operation, whichever is the later. In addition, an assisted

passage scheme for suitable British civilians and their dependents will apply to migrants who sail to Australia at any time not later than two years from the date on which the scheme begins to operate. The commencement date will depend chiefly on the provision of adequate passenger accommodation on ships sailing to Australia. Under the agreement, men and women desiring to leave Britain have to obtain permission from the Ministry of Labour and National Service to leave their employment and approval can be withheld if there is a short supply of certain qualified personnel in Britain. The Commonwealth Government also provides free transport from the Australian port of disembarkation to the settler's destination and accommodation for a limited period if necessary. These arrangements for the reception, placement and aftercare in Australia for settlers, will also include eligibility for certain social service benefits as from the date of arrival. The settlers, who must be physically fit, will have at their disposal the facilities of the Commonwealth employment service, but will not be eligible for the employment preference now granted for a period of seven years to Australian ex-servicemen. These arrangements will operate only so long as favourable conditions for settlement in the Dominion are known to exist. The provision of a sustenance allowance while the service man is seeking work will have a far-reaching effect on the steady volume of desirable migrants in addition to keeping some measure of control on the incidence of unemployment.¹

The government has approved in principle a plan to bring to Australia in the first three years after the war, 50,000 orphans from Britain and other countries devastated by the war. The advantages are that these children will not be immediate competitors in the employment field, that alien children can be more readily assimilated, will learn English and will absorb the Australian point of view more quickly than adults.

Another field of possible migration that is economically self-contained is provided in the approach to manufacturers in Britain and other overseas countries to remove their centre of production, or part of it, to Australia, bringing not only plant and markets but their personnel and families as well. This is in keeping with the government's general policy to develop new industries.

No mention is made of granting entry to the Asiatic races in the ministerial statement on government policy but the general attitude seems to be one of help in developing a higher standard of living in Asia, rather than admission of Asiatics into Australia.²

The gravest obstacle to any plan for migration to Australia is the lack of shipping for the movement of large numbers of people. There is little or no shipping available and it is felt that the continuance of this position later than 1946 will have a disastrous effect on proposed migration. The time factor in relation to migration is considered most important since it is believed Australia has an unparalleled opportunity to get highly desirable immigrants from Britain and Europe, due to the effects of the war, and the fact that Australia is one of the few large area countries contemplating extensive migration. That the solution of the shipping bottleneck is receiving government consideration is shown in the Minister for Immigration's statement suggesting that the shortage might be relieved through the release of Liberty ships by the United States government.

¹ Statement on British Migration to Australia, by Hon. Arthur A. Calwell, Minister for Immigration, March 5, 1946.

² Immigration—Government Policy, Ministerial Statement, August 2, 1945.

SURVEY OF EUROPEAN MIGRATION POSSIBILITIES¹

Australia recognizes that certain European countries will be potential sources of future immigrants to the Commonwealth. In order to obtain the reaction to migration on the part of governments, employers' groups, trade unions, and the people themselves, early this year a Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Committee made a survey of the situation in Britain and in a number of countries on the Continent. Among the recommendations of the Committee was the suggestion that agreements be reached with the governments of countries that would be potential immigration centres, and that an overseas publicity campaign be inaugurated to foster and maintain interest in Australia. It was also recommended that material be distributed to industrial groups in Britain on the advantages of establishing new factories or branches in Australia. While the report of the Committee deals with the reaction to settlement in the Commonwealth, in many cases the information obtained from the different countries is equally applicable to Canada.

Great Britain

As mentioned previously, the United Kingdom has already signed an agreement with the Commonwealth to sponsor British migration to that country, and interest on the part of the British people is very great at the present time. The government and press are in accord with the principle of migration within the Empire, although the emigration of key personnel to an extent inimical to Britain's reconstruction program would not be encouraged. Industrial leaders are not opposed and the trade unions expressed the view that there would be little opposition, when satisfied that the unions in Australia would permit entry on the part of Britons cleared by their own unions. They were also encouraged by the fact that unemployment and sickness benefits would be available to British migrants under the agreement. There are likely to be fairly large numbers of migrants available, covering a wide range of trades and professions.

Ex-service personnel, because of their age at enlistment, are for the most part unskilled or only semi-skilled in industry, but civilians are skilled both in farming and industry—many in secondary, as well as primary industries. In addition there are relatives of persons now settled in Australia who wish to join them, and some Britons with capital to establish themselves. British industry is interested in setting up new industries or branches through the migration of key personnel and plant, and in many cases bringing overseas patent rights. However, the double taxation system at present in effect in Australia might have a stultifying effect on British investment.

Switzerland

A large flow of migrants can be expected from Switzerland, for the population has reached a saturation point and education is too high for the type of jobs available. The government approves emigration, although favouring family migration rather than the export of a large portion of young people, (particularly potential soldiery). In certain cases passage money might be advanced by the government, as has been done in the past, and supervision would be given to see that applicants came up to specifications *re* trade and other qualifications. The emigrants would be permitted to take their capital (possibly averaging £150 Australian) with them, as the government is anxious for its nationals to be assured of a good start in their new home. There would be strong opposition on the part of industry to any export of machinery or skilled workers associated with the watchmaking industry. Trade unions were satisfied with conditions under

¹Report of the Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Committee, presented 27th February, 1946.

which their members would enter Australia and many Swiss artisans and skilled labourers are available. Technical persons, doctors, economists, hotel employees, would be among those migrating.

Holland

Like Switzerland, Holland is definitely a source of a large number of future immigrants. The country has been devastated by the war and many of the young people are anxious to settle immediately in a new country. The government is co-operative, the trade unions enthusiastic, and no barriers are likely to be placed in the way of migration. While most of the emigrants would be agriculturists, there are also a number of men and women from industry, particularly from the mechanic and factory groups. Building trade employees would be discouraged from migrating, (although not actually prohibited) due to the reconstruction needs of the Netherlands. Financial assistance would probably be essential because of the foreign exchange shortage. Some interest was shown on the part of the strawboard, rayon and textile industries to transport their plant if the inducements were sufficiently attractive.

Norway

There has always been a strong tendency on the part of Norwegians to migrate, and this has been intensified as a result of the war, particularly among the young people. Facing a tremendous job of reconstruction, the government is inclined to discourage migration to the point of prohibition, especially with regard to key personnel. Trade unions are not adverse to the movement of workers, and because of the enthusiasm of the people themselves, it was felt that Norway might be the source of a mass movement of migrants from every phase of industry, agriculture and commerce, including shipbuilders, forestry experts, timber workers, builders, engineers.

Finland

This country was not visited by the Committee but from interviews with Finns, it was learned that a considerable number of shipbuilders, farmers, fishermen, timber workers and others were anxious to migrate.

Sweden

Economically in a comparatively satisfactory position, there is not a great deal of interest taken in migration among the Swedish people. The government does not wish its nationals to leave, as there is a definite shortage of skilled labour. However, no pressure would be placed on those wishing to migrate and they would probably be permitted to take their capital with them. While no great numbers are likely to emigrate, there would be a certain number of forest workers, seamen, engineers, professional classes, as well as labourers (some from the building trades) and many of these persons would have money for their passage and enough to support themselves for about a year after their arrival in Australia.

Belgium

The economic recovery of Belgium appears to be progressing satisfactorily and as the Belgians are not good colonizers, few migrants can be expected. The government is not encouraging, nor are the trade unions—fact, the latter are definitely opposed to the export of miners, as there is a shortage at present. Some technicians, glass workers, mechanics and professional groups might leave Belgium if conditions were sufficiently attractive.

Denmark

While the Danes make excellent settlers, the relatively high standard of social development in Denmark is not likely to encourage many to leave their homeland. The trade unions, with a membership of seven-eighths of the workers, are not actively opposed but the government would not approve mass migration and tries to find suitable employment in Denmark for all persons desiring to emigrate. There is, however, considerable interest on the part of the people and their are journalists, technicians, boat builders, factory experts in dairying, as well as farmers, who are prospective immigrants. Some financial assistance would be necessary to induce these people to leave Denmark.

France

Like the Belgians, the French are not a colonizing race and at the present time, the government is sponsoring an immigration program to increase the population of France. Trade unions are not sympathetic, the socialist press is antagonistic, and there is little likelihood that many will emigrate from France, apart from a few, such as chefs and dressmakers, who might leave at their own expense.

Refugee Groups

There are a large number of displaced persons located in Switzerland and Sweden who might be settled in other countries. About 21,000 refugees and immigrants (mostly Jewish) are still in Switzerland and about 200 of them were being trained by the Swiss Government in tailoring, shoemaking, oxy-welding, machine fitting, etc. The government is willing to contribute towards the passage money of any in this group who may wish to emigrate. In Sweden, there is a large group of persons from the Baltic States who are a potential source of excellent migrants. These include a number of intellectuals, (doctors, lawyers, etc.) and factory and forestry workers, and while many are usefully employed in Sweden, it is on a temporary basis. The Report recommends that a United Nations Migration Sub-Committee be set up to consider the placement of these refugees in other parts of the world.

APPENDIX B

POST-WAR AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENT POSSIBILITIES IN CANADA

W. BURTON HURD, JOURNAL OF FARM ECONOMICS, MAY, 1945

The over-all picture for Canada as a whole thus suggests something between 27,000,000 and 29,000,000 acres of unused, reasonably accessible land which is regarded as physically suitable for agricultural settlement by experts in the provinces in which they are located.¹ Included in both these totals are 10,000,000 acres in the province of Quebec, which, for reasons stated above, may well prove an over-estimate by 25 per cent or more, in which case the above over-all limits would be reduced to say 25,000,000 to 27,000,000 acres. Whatever its exact amount, provincial authorities in the province of Quebec hold the view that all unused agricultural land in the province will be required to provide farm holdings for the increase in local farm population expected during the next few decades.

Unused agricultural land in Canada outside Quebec is estimated at between 17,000,000 and 19,000,000 acres, which acreage, on the basis of land utilization practices in the regions in which it is located, might be expected to accommodate between 70,000 and 80,000 full-time agricultural settlers. Proposed irrigation projects in the Prairie Region, if and when completed, would provide for a further net increase of something over 13,000 farm units. The total potential increase is thus set at between 83,000 and 93,000. These are outside figures. Detailed investigation has yet to demonstrate the physical and economic feasibility of much of the proposed irrigation development.

Present operators on sub-marginal holdings are regarded by provincial authorities as having a preferred claim on unused agricultural lands. The number of operators in this category who should be moved to other locations is placed at 9,000 in Saskatchewan; in the absence of any authoritative estimate for Alberta, a figure of 3,000 is accepted as a reasonable guess, making a total of say 12,000.² How many will or can be moved is not known, but in the meantime, the provinces concerned feel that alternative holdings should be reserved in the unsettled districts within the provincial jurisdiction. Such being the case, a figure somewhere between 71,000 and 81,000 might be taken as more appropriately representing the number of new farm holdings, outside Quebec, potentially available for the extension of settlement after the war.

One gathers from provincial experts that the probable time required to properly develop this potential will be between ten and twenty years, assuming, of course, that it is economically feasible to proceed without interruption and in an orderly manner. In some provinces the development would probably be more rapid than in others.

In addition to full-time agricultural settlers, many foresters may be placed on small agricultural holdings in the vast forested areas across Canada as more of the provinces in which they are situated. Their combined settlement potential is placed at something over 50,000 new farm families. Out of this total, provision must be made for a limited number of demobilized members of the armed

¹Potential agricultural acreage in the Yukon and Northwest Territories is not included in these totals for reasons stated in the text.

²The removal of operators from sub-marginal lands in Northern Ontario was provided for in the over-all estimated employed above.

effective ways of combining forestry and part-time farming are devised. The number may run to many thousands. There is scope also for the extension of part-time farming in combination with the fishing, mining and urban industries generally. Settlement opportunities likely to be offered by possible developments in these several fields cannot be assessed at the present time, yet they constitute an important part of the post war picture.

In three important regions outside Quebec, viz., Northern Ontario, Northern Alberta and Central British Columbia, lands suitable for full-time agriculture are available in excess of the immediate prospective requirements of residents services, for whom farm holdings are not available elsewhere, as well as for some persons returning to agriculture from war industries. In addition, there will be the requirements of such of our surplus rural population as desire to settle in these districts as they are developed. No precise estimate of these total domestic requirements is possible, but if they were to amount to as much as half the total supply, there would still be accommodation for some 25,000 immigrant settlers. The actual figure may be appreciably higher—or somewhat lower. It cannot be determined in advance, but obviously there is a definite limit to the number of agricultural settlers Canada can accept from abroad.

Similarly, the increase of settlement that may occur through the more intensive utilization of lands already occupied cannot be determined with any degree of precision. Increased settlement, whether through the extension of agricultural acreage or its more intensive use, is conditioned ultimately by the demand for agricultural produce.

In this connection, the studies of Dr. McFarlane, Dr. Saunderson and Dean Kirk, which summarize all authoritative evidence concerning possible industrial uses of agricultural products, indicate that in view of the fact that plastics, alcohol and other important products can be made much more cheaply from raw materials of non-agricultural origin, no phenomenal increase in the industrial demand for agricultural products is to be expected in the post war period. A gradual increase is assured, but it is definitely not likely to be on a scale sufficient materially to affect agricultural settlement possibilities. Moreover, such fragmentary evidence as the writer has been able to secure suggests that the same is likely to be true of our industrial development generally.

As to the possible increase in domestic demand through improved dietary standards, Dr. W. C. Hopper, of the Economics Division, Dominion Department of Agriculture, finds that to raise the diet of every Canadian to the standard established by the Canadian Council on Nutrition would require an increase of about 2,000,000 acres to provide feed for dairy cattle and the necessary additional fruits and vegetables.¹ This is about equivalent to the acreage that would be freed if our annual exports of pork and bacon to Great Britain were reduced by two hundred and seventy-five million pounds. It is equivalent in amount to approximately 8 per cent of our estimated available unused agricultural lands. Clearly, any major impetus to agricultural settlement in the Dominion, if it is to come from improved nutritional standards, must come through increased export demand arising from improving dietary standards in other countries.

That is not to say that the supplying of adequate dietary requirements of our own population might not result in the employment of more labour on our farms. That will depend in large measure on the economies in labour effected by the new farm implements that have been specially designed for use on smaller farms after the war.

¹"Food Consumption in Canada in Post-War Years with Special Reference to Nutritionally Adequate Diets" by W. C. Hopper. Paper delivered at CSTA Convention, Toronto, June 28, 1944.

The above analysis and conclusions are based on the assumption that settlement programs (at least outside Quebec) will aim at the development of commercial rather than subsistence agriculture. Such is generally the intention, and for reasons that seem proper and adequate to provincial officials. It may be that subsistence farming could form a permanent part of the agricultural economy of English-speaking Canada just as wage differentials persist in the cities. There are arguments on both sides. The fact is, however, that that type of settlement is not regarded with favour by the provinces controlling most of the remaining unused agricultural acreage.

Finally it must not be inferred from the emphasis placed on the physical and economic detriments of agricultural settlement, that the author holds the view that physical and economic factors should or will be the sole determinants of future settlement policy. Political and humanitarian considerations will bulk large in the post war world and may not always conform with that which is economically desirable. Under such circumstances, compromise is inevitable—but such compromise as is within the limits set by physical and economic controls.

APPENDIX C

(Memorandum from Mr. R. McC. Walker, Toronto)

1. Immigration.
2. Population
3. Starvation in Europe.

These three problems confront all nations on this continent, Canada more than most being an exporting nation with a small population for its size, and for its productive ability and potentiality.

Would it not be possible for Canada to adopt a policy that would help solve all three problems and at the same time be of benefit to herself in the long run?

It is suggested that Canada initiate an immigration movement, sponsored by the Federal government, offering permanent asylum in this country to the children of Europe of under 10 years of age who have suffered, are suffering and will always suffer as a result of the war, for which they can in no way be held responsible.

It is suggested that these children be brought to Canada and be brought up as Canadians, in the proportion to the present population of Canada, i.e. 50 per cent British stock, 30 per cent French, and 20 per cent remainder and that only white children be admitted.

It is further suggested that immigration of adults be strictly confined to those who come from countries of the United Nations, and who are prepared to come to Canada without any governmental help or assurance of benefits such as would be the due of returned Canadians, or unemployed Canadians.

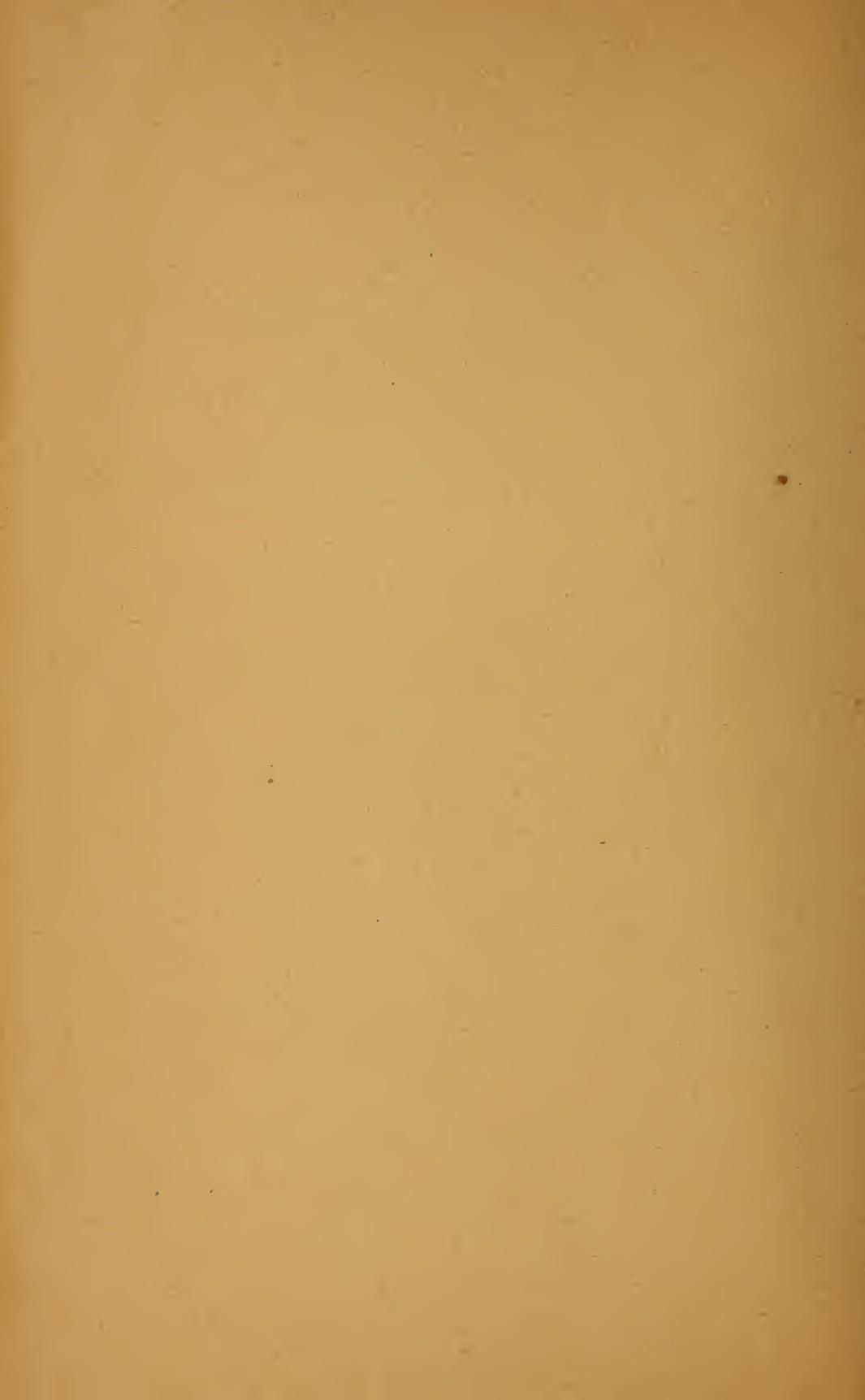
Further that these children be housed as far as possible with those Canadians who would be prepared to adopt them, and the remainder in the military camps which could be turned into government nurseries and schools.

Such a policy would settle Canada's immigration problem temporarily, and give her an immigration policy of far-sightedness and definiteness which she has not got now.

It would go far to rectify the prevailing population problem, which is that Canada's population is on the average growing older, in other words apart from immigration it would be declining.

It would help Europe, and have the beneficial effect of lowering her over-populated countries' population immediately.

Finally it would be a Christian and an ideal contribution to the solution of the three besetting and interrelated problems mentioned above.



1946

THE SENATE OF CANADA



PROCEEDINGS OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON

Immigration and Labour

On the operation and administration of the
Immigration Act, etc.

No. 11

TUESDAY, 13th AUGUST, 1946

The Honourable James Murdock, P.C., Chairman

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REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

OTTAWA
EDMOND CLOUTIER, C.M.G., B.A., L.Ph.,
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
CONTROLLER OF STATIONERY
1946

STANDING COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND LABOUR

The Honourable JAMES MURDOCK, P.C., Chairman

The Honourable Senators

Aseltine	Donnelly	McGeer
Blais	Dupuis	Molloy
Bouchard	Euler	Murdock
Bourque	Ferland	Pirie
Buchanan	Haig	Robertson
Burchill	Hardy	Robinson
Calder	Horner	Roebuck
Campbell	Hushion	Taylor
Crerar	Lesage	Vaillancourt
Daigle	Macdonald (<i>Cardigan</i>)	Veniot
David	McDonald (<i>Shediac</i>)	Wilson

ORDER OF REFERENCE

EXTRACT from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Senate, Tuesday, July 30, 1946.

"That the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour be authorized and directed to examine into the Immigration Act (R.S.C. Chapter 93 and Amendments) its operation and administration and the circumstances and conditions relating thereto including (a) the desirability of admitting immigrants to Canada, (b) the type of immigrant which should be preferred, including origin, training and other characteristics, (c) the availability of such immigrants for admission, (d) the facilities, resources, and capacity of Canada to absorb, employ and maintain such immigrants, and (e) the appropriate terms and conditions of such admission;

And that the said Committee report its findings to this house;

And that the said Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records."

L. C. MOYER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, 13th August, 1946

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour met this day at 8 o'clock, p.m.

Present:—The Honourable Senators: Murdock, Chairman; Aseltine, Blais, Buchanan, Crerar, Daigle, Euler, Ferland, Haig, Horner, Hushion, Macdonald (*Cardigan*), McDonald (*Shediac*), McGeer, Robertson, Robinson, Roebuck, Taylor, Vaillancourt and Wilson—20.

The Committee resumed consideration of the order of reference of 8th May, 1946, directing the Committee to examine into the operation and administration of the Immigration Act, etc.

A draft report was considered and amended.

On motion of the Honourable Senator Horner, seconded by the Honourable Senator Macdonald (*Cardigan*), the draft report, as amended, was adopted.

At 9.50 o'clock, p.m., the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chairman.

Attest.

H. ARMSTRONG,
Clerk of the Committee.

REPORT

The Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour beg leave to report as follows:

By order of Reference made on Wednesday, the 8th day of May, 1946, your Committee was directed to:—

Inquire into the Immigration Act (R.S.C. Chapter 93 and Amendments), its operation and administration and the circumstances and conditions relating thereto, including (a) the desirability of admitting immigrants to Canada, (b) the type of immigrant which should be preferred, including origin, training and other characteristics, (c) the availability of such immigrants for admission, (d) the facilities, resources and capacity of Canada to absorb, employ and maintain such immigrants, and (e) the appropriate terms and conditions of such admission.

In obedience to this Order of Reference, the Committee has made a study of the broad field of Immigration and in the course of its inquiries has heard evidence submitted on the following dates by the organizations and persons mentioned:

1. Tuesday, 21st May, 1946.—*Department of Mines and Resources*, by Mr. A. L. Jolliffe, Director of Immigration.

2. Wednesday, 29th May, 1946.—*Ukrainian Association of Canada*, by A. Hlynka, M.P., *Ukrainian Canadian Committee*, by J. R. Soloman, M.L.A., Winnipeg, Manitoba; Rev. Father Dr. W. Kushner, President, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Rev. S. W. Sawchuk, Vice-President, Winnipeg, Manitoba; and Flight Lieutenant B. Panchuk, M.B.E.; *Ukrainian Labour, Temple Association*, by John Boychuk, National Secretary, Toronto, Ontario; *Association of Ukrainian Canadians*, *the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association*, *the Workers Benevolent Association* and *The Ukrainian Life Newspaper* by Mr. Stephen Macievich, Toronto, Ontario.

3. Tuesday, 25th June, 1946.—*Canadian Polish Congress*, by Mr. J. S. W. Grocholski, President, Toronto, Ontario; *Democratic Committee to Aid Poland*, by W. Walter Dutkiewicz, General Secretary, Toronto, Ontario; *Associated Poles of Canada*, by Mr. John Gorowski, *Committee of Polish Professional and Trade Association*, by Honourable Victor Podoski, Ottawa, Ontario.

4. Wednesday, 26th June, 1946.—*Canadian National Railways* by Mr. S. W. Fairweather, Vice-President of Research and Development; Mr. J. S. McGowan, Director, Department of Colonization and Agriculture, and Mr. W. Maxwell, Chief of Development.

5. Tuesday, 2nd July, 1946.—*Canadian Pacific Railway*, by Mr. H. C. P. Cresswell, Chief Commissioner, Department of Immigration and Colonization; Mr. G. M. Hutt, Development Commissioner, and Frank W. Collins, Industrial Manager.

6. Wednesday, 3rd July, 1946.—*Canadian Jewish Congress*, by Mr. Saul Hayes, National Executive Director, Montreal, Quebec, and Mr. L. Rosenberg, Research Director, Montreal, Quebec.

7. Wednesday, 24th July, 1946.—*Finnish Advancement Association of Toronto*, by Mr. Sven Stadius; *Finnish Organization of Canada*, by Mr. Gustef Sundquist, Secretary, Toronto, Ontario; *Czechoslovak National Alliance in Canada*, by Mr. Karl Buzek, Secretary, Toronto, Ontario, Mr. Rudolph Koren, President, Toronto, Ontario; and Lt.-Col. Arthur J. Hicks, Three Rivers, P.Q.

8. Thursday, 25th July, 1946—*The Canadian Congress of Labour*, by Mr. A. R. Mosher, C.B.E., President; Eugene Forsey, M.A., Ph.D., Director of Research; *The Trades and Labour Congress of Canada*, by Mr. Percy R. Bengough, C.B.E., President; Mr. J. Arthur D'Aoust, Vice-President.

9. Tuesday, 30th July, 1946—*Canadian National Committee on Refugees*, by Mr. B. K. Sandwell, LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.C., Honorary Chairman, Toronto, Ontario; Miss Constance Hayward, Executive Secretary, Toronto, Ontario; *Dominion Bureau of Statistics*, by Dr. Herbert Marshall, Dominion Statistician.

10. Wednesday, 31st July, 1946—*Cunard White Star Ltd. & Donaldson Atlantic Line*, by Mr. Arthur Randles, C.B.E., M.S.M., General Passenger Traffic Manager, (for Canada); *Swedish American Line*, by Mr. Carl E. Waselius, District Manager, Montreal, P.Q.; *Department of Reconstruction and Supply*, by Mr. Stewart Bates, Deputy Director-General of Economic Research.

In addition communications and briefs were received from:

1. Dr. Alfred Fiderkiewicz, Minister from Poland,
2. The Hudson Bay Company,
3. Mr. R. McG. Walker, Toronto, Ontario,
4. Mr. W. Van Ark, Assistant Chief Transport Officer, U.S. Zone, UNRRA. Capt. Mary Eden, Children's Friendship and Relief Association, 28 Victoria Street, London, England.

Fred. J. Savage, 338 Atlas Ave., Toronto, Ont.

S. R. Curry, Editor, The Tweed News, Tweed, Ont.

J. F. Booth, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, Ont.

Eric Stangroom, Department of Labour, Ottawa, Ont.

Herbert T. Owens, 495 Metcalfe St., Ottawa, Ont.

Aubrey Davis, Mellard Ave., Newmarket, Ont.

John B. Harvey, 200 Bay Street, Toronto, Ont.

Wm. M. Carlyle, Barrie, Ont.

Bert Torok, President, Toronto Hungarian House Inc., 245 College St., Toronto, Ont.

John J. Fitzgerald, Blind River, Ont.

Dr. Watson Kirconnell, Hamilton, Ont.

Basil Dickie, Editor, Ukrainian News, Edmonton, Alberta.

Rabbi A. A. Price, Toronto, Ont.

L. L. Anthes, St. Catharines, Ont.

Louis Kon, P.O. Box 123, Station "G", Montreal, Que.

J. D. Cameron, C.P.R., Trafalgar Square, London, England.

Lt. Commander R. D. Wall, United Kingdom Information Office, 10 Albert St., Ottawa, Ont.

S. M. Hancock, 92 Alexander St., Toronto, Ont.

Mrs. Kasper Fraser, 482 Russell Hill Road, Toronto, Ont.

PROBLEM IS URGENT

Your committee notes that of all the witnesses heard not one opposed the general principle of immigration into Canada. There was unanimous accord that immigrants should be admitted, subject to the qualifications that immigrants should be carefully selected and that admissions should not exceed the number which can be absorbed from time to time without creating conditions of unemployment, reducing the standard of living or otherwise endangering the Canadian economy.

There was a consensus of opinion that immigration is of major importance to Canada, for increases in population are necessary if we are to hold our place abroad and maintain and improve our standard of living at home. Other countries are taking action and world conditions are changing rapidly, so that the problem for Canada is extremely urgent.

All were agreed that Canada, as a humane and Christian nation, should do her share towards the relief of refugees and displaced persons.

Your Committee finds that the problem of immigration falls into three general divisions, that is agricultural, industrial and domestic and in this report we will deal with them in that order.

AGRICULTURAL POSSIBILITIES

Canada has a vast area, given in statistics as 3,466,882 square miles, but obviously only a limited portion of this great space is suitable for agriculture as the art is at present understood. There are now in Canada approximately 735,000 occupied farms with an area of approximately 175,000,000 acres. Of these acres, about 89,000,000 are cultivated and 53,000,000 are in prairie or natural pasture, leaving 33,000,000 as occupied but unused. The Canada Year Book for 1945 gives the agricultural lands of Canada, both presently available and potential as 350,000,000 acres, which after deducting the occupied area leaves 175,000,000 acres as unoccupied, but much of what is classified as unoccupied farm land is really not presently available for settlement. There is really little factual data upon which to base an estimate of the amount of unused agricultural land in Canada available for settlement. Dr. Booth, of the Economic Branch of the Canadian Department of Agriculture, recently stated that there are about 27,000,000 acres of unused and reasonably accessible land suitable for agricultural settlement, which would provide from 150,000 to 160,000 farms. The Canadian Pacific Railway has still available for settlement 1,307,876 acres, a considerable percentage of which it describes as "good land". The Hudson Bay has an unsold land estate of 822,000 acres, not all of which is useable. Several million acres of land in the Western Provinces can be made available by irrigation. Much of the land classed as occupied is uncultivated and unused. The Census of 1941 showed more than 32,000 abandoned or totally idle farms, aggregating approximately 5,000,000 acres.

Whatever the Statistics may be, informed witnesses who appeared before your Committee were agreed that the area of Canada's unused agricultural resources was very great and that its development would add greatly to Canada's wealth and importance.

Awaiting Cultivation

We were told that Canada's unused agricultural opportunities are great and valuable, and are waiting to be turned into wealth by industry, that is to say by an intelligent application of human effort. This opinion is in accord with our own knowledge of unoccupied areas and of the inadequate use made of some of that which is occupied. We know that there is a definite shortage of farm labour.

Our present extensive, valuable and highly productive agricultural plantation is the result of a gradual development brought about by much enterprise and labour, sustained over a considerable period of time. This development is based originally upon immigration, for Canadians are all, with few exceptions, either immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. Future progress in agricultural expansion and development will be undesirably slow if we depend entirely upon our own natural increase, but what has been accomplished in agriculture in the past by immigration, given comparable opportunity, may be repeated in part at least in the future. If our progress in the years to come is to compare at all favourably with that of the past, it too must be based in part on immigration, intelligently directed and sustained from year to year.

As much of our land available for settlement is controlled by the Provincial Governments, and as the Provinces are interested in possible increases in agricultural population, consultation with the Provinces in this connection is suggested.

INDUSTRIAL IMMIGRATION

Canadian economy has changed greatly since the early immigrants into Canada laid axe to tree or struck long furrows in the middle West. There has been a continuous industrial development taking place, a movement which was greatly accelerated during the recent great war. In 1943, manufacturing produced 54 per cent of Canada's total production. Wartime diversification brought about new degrees of employment and income.

While agriculture is still of major importance in our economy, and will increase in importance with possible improvements in farm practice, a concurrent industrial progress is also important and must be sustained if we are to maintain and improve our present comparatively high standards of living.

Your Committee heard evidence to the effect that immigration could be made to aid greatly in our industrial development and that intelligently selected immigrants in the managerial, technical and artisan classifications would increase employment, rather than taking work from those already here. We were told that our need is for key personnel, for men who can do things with our resources and potentials not now used, or who can improve on methods now in use. There is evidence that we need men willing to undergo heavy labour, as we did when our railroads were being built and our lands were being cleared. Those who devote themselves to the promotion of new enterprise, to highly informed management, and to technical and scientific skills, create employment for others, and this is particularly the case in Canada where so many resources are unused and so many opportunities are lying idle. Our greatest need is for "entrepreneurs", who have the capacity to make productive industries of our latent resources, for artisans skilled in new trades or masters of old ones, and for scientific technicians of all kinds. Such men increase our employment possibilities.

We speak from experience. The woollen, fabric and pottery trades were brought to England by refugees. Most of our own industries have been founded in the first place on imported skills, and even during the recent war years Canada has benefited considerably from the special knowledge and managerial enterprise of refugees. Your Committee has heard evidence as to the results of the creative enterprise of some of these newcomers. They are said to have created one hundred new industries in this country. Examples were given of the establishment of new industries in Canada based upon scientific knowledge and skill brought here by immigrants.

Materials in abundance

Canada has much to offer to such men. We have raw materials in abundance, together with power and transportation. We have local markets and we have access to the trade routes of the world including those of our great neighbour, the United States. Industrial opportunities are here but to be accepted they must be offered in a practical businesslike way, backed by a generous and consistent immigration policy.

A settled immigration policy and a sustained effort is necessary if any real success is to be achieved in attracting immigrants of the type indicated. Worthwhile men of skill and enterprise do not lightly pull up stakes in the land of their birth in order to emigrate into new and unknown conditions, but experience proves that there are such men abroad and that they are willing to come to this country. The presently disturbed condition of the world presents an opportunity to Canada in this regard which will be largely lost if too long delayed. Our agents should be in Europe now searching out and interesting those whom we want and preparing for the time when shipping will become available. Time is an element in such migrations for men of the type indicated must know what they are doing.

NEED FOR DOMESTIC HELP

Your committee was advised that many public institutions such as hospitals and homes for aged people and other public institutions are handicapped by a shortage of domestic help. It was stated that in Europe there are numbers of women, experienced in housekeeping, who would be happy indeed were they admitted to Canada to work as domestics in public and private homes.

LABOUR NOT OPPOSED

Organized labour is not opposed to immigration as has been suggested. The Presidents of the Canadian Congress of Labour and the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada both assured your Committee that their great organizations were in favour of immigration provided it did not reduce the Canadian standard of living which they have struggled so long to improve. Labour is definitely opposed to the improper use of immigration to provide a pool of cheap and docile workers, but it will support a selective immigration designed to develop our resources and thus give additional work to our people. Labour is of opinion that Canada should do her share with the other nations of the world to solve the refugee problem, and that we should grant refuge to our full quota of displaced persons, even though it may cost something, so long as it does not adversely effect our living standards.

RAILWAYS

Canada's great railway systems both maintain departments of agriculture and industrial colonization and development. These departments are under the direction of well informed experts in farming and industry whose duty it is to promote enterprise in Canada in every way that is sound and practical. These men have gathered a vast fund of knowledge as to Canada's resources and opportunities for enterprise and they spend their time in energetically bringing together the men and the opening, the demand and the supply. It is to the credit of both the Canadian National Railway and the Canadian Pacific Railway that this work has been maintained courageously throughout even the non-immigration and stagnation years which followed the outbreak of the First Great War. Canada is indebted to its Railways for the active encouragement they have given in the past to immigration and settlement, the founding of new industries, tourist traffic and foreign trade, and for the access which they provide to millions upon millions of used and unused acres. Your Committee is indebted to its Railway witnesses for their informed optimism as to Canada's possibilities, which sums up in the phrase—"the resources are there; the problem is to put them to use."

Ocean steamship companies have co-operated with the Canadian Railways in the past in bringing immigrants to Canada, but shipping losses during the war have been heavy. A representative of the Cunard White Star and Donaldson Atlantic lines expressed to your Committee his company's faith in Canada's resources and her powers of expansion, but stated that ships are costly and that an announcement by the Government of Canada of a long-term immigration policy is necessary to the institution by his company of a shipbuilding program.

The Swedish-American line is now carrying immigrants from Scandinavian countries to the United States by the War famous "Gripsholm" and a sister ship, and a representative of that company assured your Committee that arrangements could be made to have these ships and additional tonnage which is being secured call at Halifax to land immigrants so soon as Canada is prepared to admit them.

THE ACT

Canada's Immigration Act, as it has been for many years past is a non-Immigration Act. Its main purpose seems to be exclusion. The object in view in most of its sections is to keep people out; not let them in, and the authority to amend the law which is given to the Executive has been used by Order in Council to prohibit all immigration, with very restricted exceptions. Little is to be gained by a discussion of the Act in its detail. What is needed is a new policy of selective attraction to replace that of repulsion and a vigorous administration, that will search out, a reasonable number of immigrants who are desirable and then find means of bringing them here and of assisting them in being successful after their arrival. They should be welcomed and taught the advantages of life in this country, and be made into Canadian citizens in spirit as well as in fact as rapidly as possible.

The unenviable task of our Immigration Department during the past years has been almost entirely negative. A great battery of letter writers has been engaged in explaining why nothing can be done and in making the best case possible out of every excuse. Our immigration officials would indeed be happy to see the last of such a policy.

Any suggestion of discrimination based upon either race or religion should be scrupulously avoided both in the Act and in its administration, the limitation of Asiatic immigration being based, of course, on problems of absorption. Unnecessary and technical restrictions such as the requirement of direct travel from the country of origin, the possession of funds when support is made available by others and mere degrees of consanguinity or relationship, should be cleared away, leaving to those in charge the freest exercise of discretion in the choice of those desirable, when not admissible as of right, having due regard for priority to those brought here on the responsibility of friends or relatives.

IMMIGRATION IS DESIRABLE

After a careful consideration of the evidence submitted, your Committee is of opinion that it is desirable that immigrants be admitted to Canada in substantial numbers, and commencing so soon as possible. Canada's ability to support a substantial increase in population is beyond question. The wisdom of Canada withholding from the crowded lands of Europe access to her vast areas and unused resources is at least open to doubt.

The immigrants admitted should be carefully selected. Canada should not stand inactively by, accepting possibly those who apply. Government agencies should vigorously search out those who by character and skill in industry or agriculture may be expected to enhance our human resources as a nation and to add to our productive power.

People from the British Isles have the advantage of common language and a grounded understanding of Canadian political institutions and modes of living, but no definite rules can be laid down in this regard. Great Britain's manpower should not be depleted by large scale migration nor is anything of the kind likely to be encouraged by the British Government. An invitation should be extended and facilities afforded for those of character and ability who care to come.

Good prospective immigrants are not confined to any one locality. Your Committee has been greatly impressed with the accomplishments in Canada of the men and women from all parts of Europe who came here in considerable numbers in the years preceding the First Great War.

AVAILABILITY

That desirable immigrants in considerable numbers are available now is well established. Europe is still in a sadly disturbed condition and many good citizens who at one time were engaged successfully in industry or agriculture

are now in sad plight, and are looking for opportunities to start life anew. Such people cannot be found by office men in Ottawa, much less scrutinized and assortied. They must be searched out by agents of our Government operating in the localities where they are to be found. If Canada is to secure those who are likely to prove the greatest assets, we must take the initiative; we must go to them, and if their migration is to be a success for both themselves and Canada they should be guided and assisted, and in some degree supervised, until they have become established. In this way we may prevent our immigration being offset and its population benefits destroyed by emigration, as has been the case so markedly in the past.

RELATIVES AND FRIENDS

Immigrants who come to Canada on the responsibility of relatives or friends already here enjoy a real advantage over those who arrive as complete strangers. The right to bring relatives and friends here is a privilege which our Government may well extend to Canadian citizens. This principle has already been recognized by the Government in an Order in Council dated the 28th May, 1946, P.C. 2071.

Successive Orders in Council passed in 1931, 1937 and 1944, have so altered the administration of the Immigration Act as to prohibit the landing in Canada of immigrants of all classes and occupations, with certain very limited exceptions, and to these exceptions the Order cited has added the following paragraph:

- (a) The father or mother, the unmarried son or daughter eighteen years or over, the unmarried brother or sister, the orphan nephew or niece under sixteen years of age, of any person legally admitted to and resident in Canada, who is in a position to receive and care for such relatives. The term "orphan" used in this clause means a child bereaved of both parents.

The Committee sees no good reason for the exclusion of married sons and daughters, brothers and sisters and of nephews and nieces whether orphaned or otherwise and whether under or over sixteen years of age. These are but technicalities, giving the impression of a grudging opening of the door. What really counts is whether the prospective immigrants are healthy, willing to work and capable of taking their part in Canadian life, in which case the fact of relatives already here, assuming responsibility and guaranteeing assistance is an advantage to the immigrant so great as to justify a priority, and to this consideration is to be added the freedom which we should give to our own citizens to extend the hand of fellowship to their unfortunate relatives and friends abroad. Such privileges might well be extended to friends as well as relatives. The admission of such people so soon as shipping is available will no doubt constitute our first post-war migration to this country. With the assistance of their Canadian connections, they can be easily assimilated into the Canadian economy and present no problems of absorption.

ORGANIZATION DISBANDED

The Order in Council has meant nothing to date, however, for practically no immigrants are being admitted whether relatives or otherwise, nor are any steps being taken with a view to future admission.

When the war broke out in 1939, Canada had Immigration Officers in Europe capable of making medical and other inspections at Paris, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Hamburg, Danzig, Gdynia and Riga; there were also officers at Hong Kong, as well as inspectional offices at London, Liverpool, Glasgow and Belfast in the United Kingdom, assisted by a Canadian roster of British medical doctors at points throughout the United Kingdom.

This organization was disbanded on the outbreak of war and there have been practically no new-comers from Europe or Asia since the commencement of hostilities, nor since its close, other than the recent arrivals of wives and children of service men. What passenger shipping remains from the wartime sinkings, has been engaged exclusively in the task of repatriation of Canada's overseas Army and service-men's dependents, a condition which will likely continue until about the end of the year. With the greater availability of passenger shipping on the conclusion of repatriation operations, we should be in a position to bring immigrants to Canada.

But the war has been over for many months and the immigration and inspection staffs should now be returned to their former European stations. People desiring to immigrate should not be kept in doubt until the last problem of shipping has been solved. If visas are issued, many may find means of solving their own transportation problems. The first step is to open our European offices, an action which should no longer be delayed.

MANY APPLICATIONS

At the present time there is no dearth of applications both from Canadian citizens seeking admission of relatives and friends and of persons desiring to come. Some difficulty may be occasioned by other governments refusing to allow their nationals to depart, but subject to this the Director of Canadian Immigration anticipates no difficulty in finding such immigrants as are desired, or in setting up departmental machinery for their inspection, selection and admission.

POLISH PROSPECTS

Your Committee has been informed that there are a large number of prospective Polish immigrants desirous of admission to Canada. A considerable number of these are soldiers who fought under General Crerar. At the end of 1945, there were over 200,000, in the Polish Armed Forces fighting on the Allied side. Some of these men are now in the United Kingdom. As they were of military age, they are men in the prime of life, about 60 per cent being farmers by profession, and all having some training in the mechanical arts. All the arts and professions are represented. Since this Committee was appointed, the Government has announced that in accordance with an agreement with the United Kingdom, 4,000 of these Polish soldiers are to be admitted to Canada under a provision that they shall remain on farms for at least two years.

In addition there are said to be thousands of Polish "displaced persons" and former prisoners-of-war who were found in German camps or wandering about at the close of hostilities. The numbers are indefinite, but the evidence is that a very considerable number of men and women of this nationality, in the prime of life, most of them having valuable skill and nearly all having some material resources, form a human reservoir upon which Canada may draw.

UKRAINIANS AVAILABLE

There would appear to be at least an equal number of refugees and displaced persons of Ukrainian origin in the Camps of Germany or drifting about Europe. Some millions of men and women were driven by the Germans from the territories they occupied to be used as slave labour. The home country of these people has been devastated, and it is thought that many would welcome an opportunity to recommence life in Canada. How suitable they are for settlement could be learned by careful investigations where they are, and by no other means. Our agents should be in Europe now engaged in this work, for if they are such people as the Ukrainian settlers who came to Canada in the years preceding the last war, they will possess characteristics of intelligence and industry which may well contribute to Canada's development.

OTHER NATIONAL ORIGINS

Representatives of Canadians of Czechoslovak, Finnish, Polish, Ukrainian and other national origins testified to your Committee as to the contribution made by their people to Canada's agricultural and industrial development and as to the desire of those who may be described as "new Canadians" for a reasonable policy of immigration. They agreed that it should be carefully selective with preference and priority to those with relatives or friends already established in Canada.

Well informed witnesses told your committee that immigrants from the Baltic countries, Holland and Denmark are available, and that they are highly desirable people from the Canadian point of view.

Representatives of the Canadian Jewish Congress laid emphasis on the terrible losses and suffering of the Jewish populations of Europe and asked that in Canadian Immigration Law and administration there be no discrimination on account of religion or race. A plea was made for the admission to Canada of "displaced" persons in Europe, and particularly of unfortunate children.

REFUGEES

Canadians are a Christian people, very human and very ready to discharge their moral obligations. Canada with her vast space and great resources has surely some responsibility for the unfortunate among the war-torn peoples of Europe. It is not right that we should entirely close our doors against the victims of world upheaval, and particularly the children.

In immigration statistical classifications the term "Refugee" is not used, and there is no way in which exact figures may be supplied. The term "Refugee" has acquired a much wider application during the past eight or nine years. After the first world war it applied mostly to those who had lost both homes and citizenship; later it applied to all who because of political, religious, racial, or economic troubles actual or threatened, were forced or induced to move. While immigrants are not shown in the statistical records as "refugees", it is well known that the majority of immigrants from Continental Europe in recent years belong to that category.

In the years 1938 and 1939, many Continental refugees with varying amounts of capital were admitted.

In 1939 over 300 Czech families and about 100 single men, who had to leave the Sudeten area on its occupation by Germany were brought to Canada and settled on the land. This movement would have been considerably larger but for the outbreak of war.

In 1940-41 individual groups of Belgian, Czech and Netherland nationals totalling several hundred persons, entered Canada as refugees.

In 1940 a considerable number of civilian refugees, most of whom were given asylum in the United Kingdom some months prior to the outbreak of war, were transferred from temporary internment camps in England to civilian internment camps in Canada; about 1,000 of these were subsequently released in Canada.

Following the fall of France arrangements were made for the entry of Polish engineers and technicians from that country. About 800 came to Canada, some with their families. They were employed at war work.

In 1941 approximately 300 European refugees were admitted from the Far East. About fifty have come forward following the close of the war, they having been prevented from sailing in 1941 due to Japan's attack on Pearl Harbour.

In 1944 one hundred and sixty-two families comprising 450 persons, were admitted to Canada from the Iberian Peninsula.

The entry to Canada from unoccupied France of 1,000 Jewish orphaned children was approved in 1942, but the subsequent control of that country by Germany prevented the transfer of these children being effected. During the war period many individuals and families of the refugee class who succeeded in getting beyond enemy control were allowed entry to Canada; these would total several hundred.

By Order in Council P.C. 6687 of the 26th October, 1945, authority was given to grant permanent status to refugees who entered Canada as such subsequent to September 1, 1939.

Minor Concessions Made

By Orders in Council P.C. 2070 and P.C. 2071 of May 28, 1946 provision has been made for the waiving of the passport requirements for displaced persons, and an extending of the classes of immigrants admissible to Canada on the basis of relationship to residents of this country. In the Minister's statement made in the House of Commons on May 29 last, Mr. Glen said, in part,—

The action taken is intended as a short-term measure to provide for the admission to Canada of approved persons who can be both maintained until established and provided with housing by relatives, and to meet in some measure the pressing demands being made on behalf of refugees or displaced persons having relatives in Canada, anxious to provide them with homes.

On July 8, in the House of Commons, the Prime Minister made reference to the above mentioned regulations, and added in part as follows,—

The action taken is intended as a short-term measure to provide some early and partial relief in a number of individual cases. The general problem of refugees, because of its magnitude, can only be resolved by the United Nations as a whole. Canada participated fully in the study given to it by the social and economic council at its recent meeting in New York and will join with other members of the Council at the meeting which is scheduled for August 30, when a recommendation is expected to be submitted for approval by the general assembly for the establishment of a United Nations Refugee Organization.

Your Committee is of opinion that preference should be given to those refugees who are bona fide immigrants, and thus intend to make Canada their permanent home.

UNITED STATES

Other countries are giving the lead in the matter of immigration. Since 1820, the United States has admitted immigrants to the number of 38,461,395, a fact which explains in no small measure the wealth, power and world influence now enjoyed by that country. In the years 1905-6-7-10-13 and 14, admissions were over one million annually. The rate decreased sharply with the opening of the First Great War, and a quota system was adopted in 1924. The quota now stands at 153,774 annually, though the actual admissions between 1925 and 1944 have averaged 64,036 per annum. During the war years from 1939 to 1944 inclusive, the number of immigrants have averaged 46,386, including the non-quota countries such as Canada, Newfoundland, Mexico, Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, the Canal Zone, and the independent countries of Central and South America.

Since the conclusion of hostilities, immigration has been a subject of extensive discussion in the United States and on 22nd December, 1945, President Truman by proclamation recommended the full utilization of current quotas for displaced persons in Europe. The President issued a directive to the appropriate high State officials to facilitate the entry of such persons. He mentioned the importance of caring for the orphaned children of Europe. Visas, he said,

should be distributed fairly among persons of all faiths, creeds and nationalities. The United States War Shipping Administration was directed to provide the necessary arrangements for water transportation from the port of embarkation in Europe to the United States, subject to the provision that the movement of immigrants will in no way interfere with the scheduled return of service personnel and their spouses and children from the European theatre.

In pursuance of this Presidential policy, nearly 1,000 refugees from Nazi concentration camps arrived by Army transport at New York on May 20 last. They were understood to be the first arrivals only.

GREAT BRITAIN

Britain is a crowded country with a population of 500 to the square mile as compared with 44 per square mile in the United States and 3½ in the square mile in Canada, and yet the United Kingdom has never closed her doors against the Refugee from Nazi oppression. From the beginning of the war until now as many as 200,000 refugees entered Britain. In June, 1944, it was officially stated that refugees were being admitted at the rate of 800 a month.

AUSTRALIA

The Australian Government has already announced a large-scale immigration policy for Australia, to commence so soon as demobilization, and re-employment of the fighting forces is sufficiently advanced, additional houses have been provided to meet the demands of an increased population, and shipping to transport the immigrants has been secured. Australia is not satisfied to merely wait for these things. She is reported to be reconverting Liberty cargo ships into passenger boats. She has fixed a quota of 70,000 per year and has undertaken a publicity campaign to explain to prospective immigrants the causes of delay. Arrangements have recently been made between the Governments of Australia and the United Kingdom for free passage to Australia of British ex-service men and their dependents. Assistance will also be given to British civilian immigrants and their dependents. The Government of Australia has also approved in principle the bringing to Australia during the first three years following the war of 50,000 orphans from war devastated areas.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, your Committee expresses its opinion that what is required for Canada is a well considered and sustained policy of immigration, selective in character and pursued by Canadian authorities with initiative and enterprise. We should seek out the individual migrants whom we want who will contribute to our industrial and agricultural economy and who will assist in maintaining our high standards of living by increasing proportionately our productive power, and in addition whose mentality and education will fit them for taking part in Canada's political, economic and social life. What we require is a steady flow in reasonable number of good settlers both urban and rural, rather than any excited or spasmodic rush, with regard, of course, to the varying economic conditions and needs of the country from time to time. Successful immigration can be secured only by careful and intelligent planning, and sustained over a number of years. Continuity of policy is essential to great and lasting success.

Nor is success to be gauged by the number of immigrants we land at our ports, if they are in fact but birds of passage whose ultimate destination is some other country. Success is to be counted in the number of people permanently

and successfully settled in Canada. This is one reason why those immigrants with relatives or friends already here and established in Canada are so greatly to be preferred. Continued touch with the settler after his arrival, for the purpose of guidance, assistance and encouragement, is important. Some means should be found of giving useful information and sound advice to the newcomers as to Canadian opportunities and conditions.

There are problems to be solved both at home and abroad. For example, the social security measures, veterans benefits, church, trade union and other relations which the migrant will leave in his home land, and how compensating benefits may be extended to him here, should be thoroughly studied and considered. Inter-governmental agreements may be possible, so that the migrant will leave with the approval and assistance of his national authorities. It might be arranged that he need not entirely abandon all his former state benefits. Why should he not carry forward to the new land the Unemployment Insurance credits which he has built up in the old?

All such problems are largely administrative, and they suggest what may be accomplished by an energetic immigration department, properly financed and intelligently directed.

Australia is already engaged in surveys and other activities of this kind. Canada also should be moving. The immigration problem is urgent. Action should be immediate, as otherwise opportunities will have passed or been seized by others.

Canada can be well served at this juncture by men of action, good judgment and vision.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Your Committee therefore recommends that:

1. Announcement immediately by the Government of Canada of a policy of selective immigration into Canada of both agricultural and industrial workers.
2. That such immigration be limited in numbers to what from time to time appears to be the absorptive capacity of the country, and by practical considerations of transport and establishment, and be subject to the shipping priority of service men and their dependents and other Canadian citizens.
3. That in anticipation of shipping becoming available for immigration purposes:
 - (a) Canada's immigration policy be published in appropriate foreign countries with explanations as to the unavoidable delay.
 - (b) That forthwith Canadian immigration and inspection officers be dispatched to Europe, and offices be opened with a view to meeting prospective immigrants and to the selection of those most desirable.
 - (c) That surveys be undertaken immediately in Europe to determine the localities where immigrants may be found and the conditions and anticipated problems to be met.
 - (d) That survey be undertaken in Canada in order to determine the agricultural and industrial resources available for use by prospective immigrants and the conditions and anticipated problems to be met.
 - (e) That the Immigration Ministry at once make studies and lay plans for an immigration movement and promptly take steps to implement such a policy.

4. That everything possible be done to make shipping available, subject to the above mentioned repatriation, and thereupon priority be given to the relatives in all degrees and to the friends of Canadian citizens who assume responsibility for the care and establishment of the newcomer, and who are well able and willing to give guarantees.

5. That the Immigration Act and Regulations be revised to provide for the finding and selection of immigrants, the admission of those most desirable, and for the supervision and assistance of the newcomers until established in Canada.

A copy of the Minutes of Proceedings, and evidence taken before the Committee is appended.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

JAMES MURDOCK,
Chairman.

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